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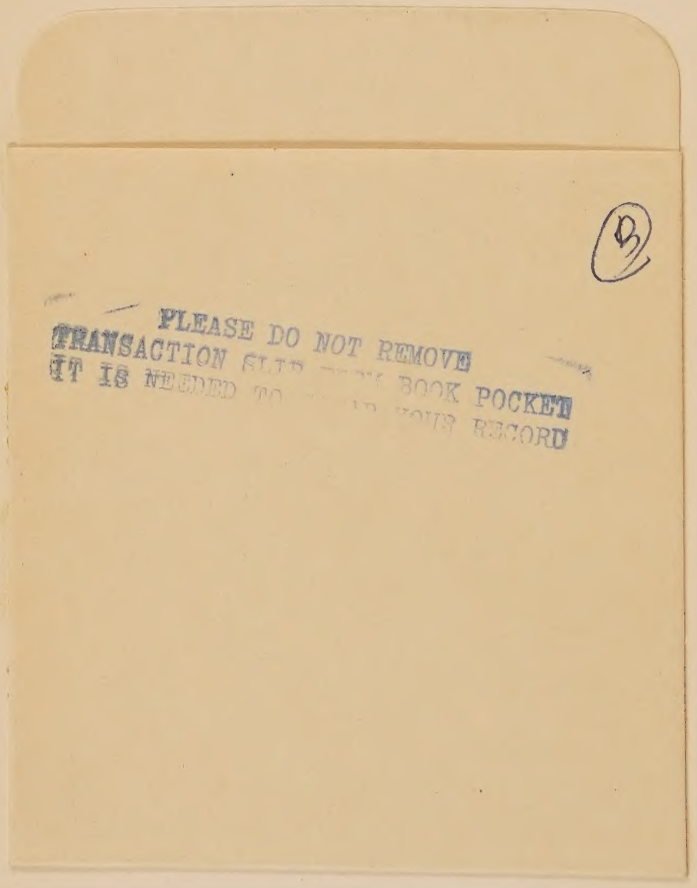

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WITH CONGRESS AND CABINET

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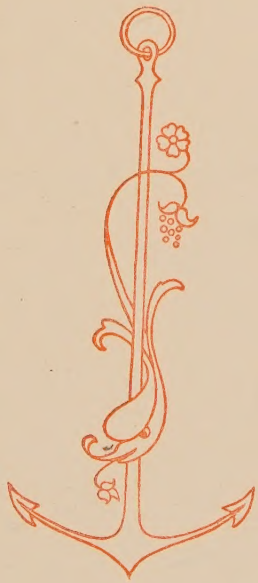
WITH CONGRESS AND CABINET

BY

WILLIAM C. REDFIELD



GARDEN CITY NEW YORK
DOUBLEDAY, PAGE & COMPANY
1924

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First Edition

TO
MY WIFE

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PREFACE

A GREAT journal recently said editorially: "So indirect and seldom is the contact of the average citizen with the City Government that he has no idea of its ramifications. . . . The government of a great city like New York is a highly intricate business problem, to be handled by capable experts rather than to be kicked about for the benefit of politicians."

How much more forcible is this true statement if applied to national affairs! Contact in that quarter is less direct; ramifications are more numerous; the need for capable experts is more vital; the business problems are larger and more intricate. There are single departments in Washington that are more extensive and complex in their functions than the entire government even of so great a city as New York. They expend more money, employ more men, and reach out all over the world. Truly, the average citizen has no idea of their ramifications.

The following chapters are based upon a series of ten articles which appeared in the *Outlook* between May 30 and August 1, 1923, and it is through the courtesy of the editors of that publication that much of

the material that appeared in their columns is included herein. The whole has been revised and enlarged and several new chapters have been added.

With some force the criticism was made that the articles were disconnected, and this may still apply in some measure. It has not been my purpose to write a connected narrative, but rather by incident and illustration to give a picture of the Government as it works, and particularly to do so from within a department busy at its usual tasks—a point of view, I believe, not often taken and from which matters are often seen in a light which differs from that usually thrown on our public affairs by the press.

I am indebted to Miss Beatrice Bulla, A.B., Vassar, 1911, formerly connected with the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce and later assistant in the Secretary's Office of the Department of Commerce, for invaluable assistance in the preparation of this book. She has revised all the manuscript and has made many helpful suggestions which it has been a pleasure to adopt.

Thanks are also extended to my secretary, Mrs. Agathe O. Stewart, for her aid. She enjoys the distinction of being the only woman in this country who has been official secretary to a cabinet member. Her intimate knowledge of departmental work has been of inestimable value. Each of the following chapters has passed through her hands.

Let me express my appreciation of the help given by former associates in Washington in supplying documents and other information.

In general, those who may wish further details of matters referred to herein will find them in the reports of the Secretary of Commerce for each of the years 1913–1919 inclusive. Special references are made by footnotes where that has seemed desirable.

If this little book aid to interpret our Government to its people, its purposes will have been accomplished.

William C. Redfield.

15 October, 1923,
BROOKLYN,
NEW YORK.

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WITH CONGRESS AND CABINET

With Congress and Cabinet

CHAPTER I

HOW IT HAPPENED

NOTHING is further from my thought than to write an autobiography or even a memoir of those stirring years that were spent in public life, some of them under the stress of war. Rather, I am seeking to tell such experiences and impressions gained during eight and a half years in Washington as will give some idea of our Government as I saw it working at its daily tasks. But those who ought to know say that at the beginning you should be told how and why a man was taken from active industrial work and sent to Congress and later called into the Cabinet. They aver that people will wish to know something of the man and the record behind the story. So not of my own choice, but because I am obedient to the editor's vision, here is as much of the record as seems fitting.

It began a long way back in the days when our factory was small and we were wrestling with cost accounts and were from necessity severe critics of our own produc-

tion methods. Our future was bound up in the success of that little industry, and we kept in close daily touch with the details of its operation. We learned in that way a great many facts about our own affairs and learned as well to respect those facts and to be guided by them. By the same token, we came to dread illusions and to question, as was said long ago, whether the things which seemed to be real were so. The school of factory experience, if one takes its lesson to heart, is a stern and thorough one—so severe that many, perhaps most, never emerge at the top into the class of those who see and think clearly. But those who do thus graduate have no respect for near-facts; indeed, they hold them in a contempt that is tinged with fear because near-facts, they know, lead into paths that end in disaster. I once knew such a man who had a horror of the word "about" in connection with his work. "How much is 'about'?" he would say wrathfully. "How long or wide is it—an inch or half an inch or something between? Tell me exactly what it is. I don't know what your 'about' means."

There are some even in industry who do not understand precision of thought and work. I had taken a large order for bicycle forgings one day in Leeds, and having set down the quantities and prices proceeded to ask the usual question as to how much material should be allowed on each surface for finishing. The customer said, "A quarter of an inch." Surprised, I told him

we regularly worked to one thirty-second, sometimes to a sixty-fourth, and if necessary to one hundredth or even closer. My English friend waxed indignant, thinking I was "spoofing" him, and remarked that he did not want any boastful Yankee yarns told him; he had said a quarter of an inch and would have just that. He got it and in so doing was forced to do at least seven times more work than was necessary with his fine plant of American finishing machinery while we had to use a lot of metal that was wasted.

This British attitude was not without its counterpart in America. Into the same factory where chemical and physical facts needed no aid in enforcing obedience upon us came at times men whose talk betrayed a different mental atmosphere. They urged what it would be a compliment to call near-truths, and when the factory method, which was just the simple but scientific course of getting exact facts, was applied to them it was amusing to see them squirm. They had learned a series of stock phrases which had by repetition been changed into axioms, which were said over and again in a doubt-if-you-dare manner. Employers all, they expressed devotion to maintaining our domestic rate of wages and to supporting at high levels the American standard of living; they descanted feelingly upon the dreadful, dangerous competing power of the pauper labour of Europe, but they balked at answering straight questions about costs and cost-accounting and

factory methods. One gathered the impression that they desired to stand to their employees as a sort of benevolent Providence, but they were singularly non-committal as to details.

Callers of this type assumed that, being ourselves manufacturers, we would seek every favour to be had from government, and acted as if we were some strange new kind of animal when we refused. By every tradition I was disposed to favour the Republican position, but actual experience in manufacturing and with manufacturers and in exporting to many lands drove me on economic grounds into the Democratic Party. Some of the men who sought tariff favours knew their industries as well as or better than we did and were deliberately and in private avowedly trying to create conditions that would add to their profits. An illustration will serve: When the Underwood tariff was before the Ways and Means Committee it was proposed to reduce the duty on, let us say, automatic jew's-harps. A manufacturer who was in private life truthful and high-minded came with a delegation before the Committee to oppose the reduction. In his remarks he said, and emphasized it, that the average labour cost in his industry was, let us say, 50 per cent. of the total cost. I met him soon afterward and objected to this statement as incorrect. He insisted that it was true. I told him it was true only if he included every little shop running in a small shed and working only part of

the time, but that in regular factories doing a steady business it was not true and that in his own great shop the labour cost was but 21 per cent. I knew, for I had seen his cost sheets. He was quite unable to deny it.

By far the larger part, however, of the high-tariff advocates among manufacturers whom I met during many years were unwilling or unable to use intensive and continuous criticism of their own processes. They had no accurate knowledge of what their goods cost, still less of what they might be made to cost, and found it the easy way to rely on aid from the Government. So the shibboleths of high-tariff advocates came to mean less and less, for I had seen from behind the scenes, had tried them in actual experience as a producer at home and a salesman abroad over a period of twenty years, and had found them wanting.

In the year 1900 I conducted the export part of our business for ten months from our own office at our exhibit in the Paris Exposition, travelling during that time through most of the countries in Northern Europe and meeting in Paris buyers from all over the world. Both before and after that date I actively promoted export sales to most of the countries on the globe.

Late in the fall of 1901 the President-elect of the Borough of Brooklyn, Mr. J. Edward Swanstrom, quite unexpectedly offered me the post of Commissioner of Public Works under him in the administration of Seth Low, then Mayor of New York. For some years

I had taken a keen but almost academic interest in public affairs and had been a delegate to the National Convention of Gold Democrats at Indianapolis in 1896. That same fall I was asked to conduct an independent campaign for Congress in order to ensure the election of a gold-standard Congressman. I had actively participated in a campaign opposed to the consolidation of Brooklyn with New York. These political activities, such as they were, had been incidents in a crowded business life, but my interest in public affairs was strong on the independent side of politics. I have never voted a "straight" ticket nor do I expect ever to do so. My interest in industrial reforms was at least as great, and it had been a privilege to write and speak on themes related to both phases of our national life as occasion had offered. It had seemed a duty to enroll in the party organization, to join some political and civic clubs and to play a modest part in them.

The invitation of the Borough President afforded a welcome opportunity to see how experience in industry would work out when applied to public executive service. It was, therefore, accepted with the proviso that a free hand would be assured me in planning and carrying out construction and operating details. This promise was given and faithfully kept. On a lesser scale the work had features in common with that which was begun eleven years later in Washington, and our staff was of similar high character. Mr. William M.

Calder, late United States Senator, was my associate as Commissioner of Buildings.

Brooklyn streets were then a desert waste of cobblestones whose general condition was disgraceful. With 1902 the reign of the cobblestones in Brooklyn ended and the era of modern smooth pavements began. Two years was much too short a time in which to do more than start the work which able successors have carried on wisely and well, but we did manage to lay one hundred miles of asphalt and other modern pavements, to stop for ever the use of cheap and abominable cobblestones, and to create by the end of 1903 a new fashion in pavements which has continued to this day.

Those who are given to the study of relations between public utility corporations and the municipalities will find an interesting story written in the records of Brooklyn in the years 1902 and 1903. The street railways, which had too much ignored alike the law and the public authorities, were firmly but quietly made to obey. There was no advertising and no abuse, for neither was deemed necessary, but the companies were shown that the law was their master, and after a struggle involving some changes in management, they complied and peace reigned. In the respects about which that contest was waged there has since been no backward step.

Before 1907 my former partner had died and I had withdrawn from the business. A trip to Great Britain resulted in the purchase of American patents owned in

Belfast and in the beginning of manufacture under them in this country. This enterprise was later merged into an older and larger concern making similar goods. The early part of 1910 was filled with preparations for a trip around the world which had been planned in behalf of the united industry. I had then no idea of taking part in national affairs. The Far East, Australia, Europe were always in my thoughts—Washington, hardly at all.

In the midst of these preparations the party leader in Brooklyn invited me to lunch and asked if I would accept a nomination to Congress, saying that my position as a low-tariff manufacturer was thought advantageous from the party standpoint. My absence on the journey around the world was considered no bar because of the long interval between the congressional election and the meeting of the new Congress, and I agreed to accept the nomination in what was then the Fifth New York District if formally tendered to me, with the understanding that even if successful I should leave for the Orient soon after election. My business associates made no objection; the nomination was made and accepted and an active campaign began. The district was normally Republican but had been carried by a Democrat, Edward M. Bassett, for there was a strong independent element in it. My opponent was a courteous gentleman; personalities were avoided and the contest was made almost wholly on tariff issues. My

Republican predecessor had won by over 8,000; my majority was 3,700 votes.

An occurrence in the midst of the contest almost brought my work and life to a sudden end. The chauffeur, who was supposed to be guarding the automobile while I was addressing a meeting, took the opportunity to get several drinks. When we started home late in the evening, both my secretary and myself noticed that he was confused, and his incapacity became increasingly evident as we approached a grade crossing where a long train of electric cars coming from Coney Island was standing at a station adjoining the right side of our road. It was apparent that the train was about to start and we shouted to the chauffeur to stop. He did not understand and, instead of using his brakes, deflected the car more toward the side where the train stood and kept on running. Our orders, even our eager efforts to turn the steering wheel or reach the brakes, were ineffective, and he drove us directly into the first car of the train as it started, striking it just in front of the forward wheels and too close under the body of the car for the motorman to see us from his booth on the opposite side. The heavy passenger coach, moving with increasing speed, dragged us obliquely under its forward platform and shoved us for a hundred feet or more between the two tracks of the railway. At last our shouts and the drag of our car made the motorman realize that something was seriously wrong and he

stopped. The body of the passenger coach then lay diagonally across the hood of our automobile, the glass was smashed, the body crushed, and my secretary at my right in the rear seat was pushing with his hands against the side of the electric car in a feeble effort to keep it away. However, it ended better than we feared; the train backed and we got out pretty well shaken up but unhurt. There was little left of the automobile except some junk which was lying by the roadside as we came away. I remember that they saved the cushions.

Ten days after the contest ended I was on my way westward to sail from San Francisco. My purpose to travel until the following fall would have been carried out had not President Taft intervened by calling an extra session of Congress in the spring of 1911. We had left Singapore in a British India steamer, had stopped at Penang, and had spent several days in Rangoon. Our vessel lay there at anchor in the broad Irrawaddy River and we went on board to sail for Calcutta. A moment after our departure a small boat put out from shore and the occupants shouted that they wished to communicate with us. We were moving rather fast, but a strong line was thrown to them and they were towed astern of the steamer. A naked native took an envelope in his teeth and drew himself along and up the tow rope till near enough for a sailor to grasp his missive. From the telegram thus delivered I learned that the President had taken action that cut

my trip short and obliged me to make a rapid journey from Bombay to Washington, where I arrived in early May. The *Marmora,* which brought us from India to Marseilles, lies at the bottom of the Mediterranean, a victim of a German submarine. Earlier in our voyage, while in Hongkong harbour, we lay close alongside the German armoured cruiser *Scharnhorst,* then peacefully lying in a British port but three years later to be the prey of English guns in the fight off the Falkland Islands.

Congress had already been in session for three weeks, and under the system that then prevailed in the House, whereby each member had his individual desk, a newcomer who was late usually had small chance of getting a good seat. It was, therefore, an agreeable surprise to find that my colleague, Mr. John J. Fitzgerald, had courteously represented me in my absence and had secured for me a seat near his own. The House organization had, of course, been formed. I was placed on three committees: those on the District of Columbia, Invalid Pensions, and Expenditures of the Post Office Department. All three required active service.

Of course, one who came into Congress from the commercial field without any break or interlude found much that was interesting in the ordinary procedure of the House and there was a great deal to learn before one was really acclimated. Soon, however, the demands of committees, the pressure of correspondence,

and the requests of callers demanded serious work and took most of my available time, leaving little for attending the sessions except when some matter of special importance or of committee interest was pending or a "Call of the House" made presence therein imperative. Experience showed that one of two courses was practically obligatory, *viz.*: either to attend to the work thoroughly or to neglect it. There never seemed to be any middle ground between these extremes, and I remember my disgust at seeing how frequently some of the New York City delegation chose the latter course. There were admirable exceptions, but as a rule their service was far from excellent, for many of these members were often, if not usually, conspicuous by absence. New York City sent some good men to Congress but there were not enough of them fairly to represent the metropolis. Men in any commercial or industrial pursuit who were as negligent of their work as were some of the men from New York—and indeed from elsewhere—would be promptly discharged, but this was politics to them—not business—and the standards unfortunately were not the same.

In due time the Ways and Means Committee brought forth the Underwood Tariff Bill, and the debate began. A man who was fresh from the foreign trade field could only listen with amusement to arguments by orators whose ignorance of industry was equalled by their fluency of speech trying to prove that it was impossible

to do that which for years he had been accustomed to do. On the back of a long envelope I jotted down some of the absurdities uttered by those who preached the gospel of America's inability to compete in the markets of the world. When a choice collection of this kind had been gathered till my old envelope was covered, I obtained from Mr. Underwood, who was in charge, the privilege of speaking an hour in the debate. What was said does not here matter. It was what any experienced export salesman or industrial cost accountant knew. Much of it accorded with the accepted production practice in our largest factories. But it happened to be new in Congress, most of whose members have had little opportunity to acquire technical knowledge of these matters. Quite unconsciously to me the hour passed, the Speaker's gavel fell, and I stopped. At such a time one may close, leaving the tail of his speech "in the air," or one may ask for a definite time allowance, or best of all the member in charge of the bill may ask that the member speaking be allowed to finish his remarks. That gives him full liberty. As I paused in the midst of rapid speaking, I saw that Mr. Underwood had risen and vaguely heard that he was asking consent that the member be permitted to finish his address. Consent was given and I went on for another half hour. Members on both sides of the House expressed appreciation of the speech, and over a million copies of it were printed and circulated in the fall of 1912 by the Democratic

Committee. Yet, after all, every good production manager and accountant proceeds on the general basis then laid down, and I doubt that there was anything original said. But it was novel to Congress to have any one rise in its midst who understood production and cost details and to hear him speak in plain factory language the gospel of American industrial courage.

With most members the chief thought seemed to be to "come back," and they were willing, indeed eager, to go to great length to secure a renomination. Under our polity a member has had but a few months of actual service in Washington before he must look to his political fences at home, for unless a special session is called, more than one third of his term passes before he sees Washington at all. Yet there were many men in both parties who were earnest, thoughtful members intent on giving faithful service without partisan bias. At one time we had under consideration in committee the conduct and character of certain local insurance companies whose methods of selling stock were thought too flamboyant. Investigation did not improve the appearance of things, and finally there had to be a square test to determine whether their course should be approved or not. The committee majority which decided that the companies were acting improperly was composed of one Republican, Judge Prouty of Iowa, one Democrat (myself), and one Socialist, Victor Berger. Incidentally, the companies later attempted

unsuccessfully to sue some of us, myself included, for conspiracy.

The House of Representatives is probably a fair cross-section of the people, showing us very much as we are and throwing faults and virtues into high relief. But there was one subject the members of the House almost without exception did not understand—the exceptions could be counted on the fingers of one hand, and I doubt if there were so many—that was the Government of the United States as a whole in its actual daily work in the field where that work is chiefly done—that is, outside of Washington. This statement includes myself and to my best knowledge and belief my friends in the House. We all thought we knew a great deal more about it than we did. We took as truth much that was said in the halls of Congress and in the press and had no time to do more. There were few actual points of contact between the executive and legislative branches for the average member. The conditions that I found on entering the Department of Commerce were a surprise to me and would have been to every member that I personally knew.

We were told in speech and in print much about waste and extravagance; we were told almost nothing about the loss constantly arising from failure to spend wisely in time. No one ever said to us, for example, that two fine government steamers, both almost new, had gone to the bottom off Alaska because my future depart-

ment was not given funds to survey that coast whose cruel rocks sent them and many others to destruction. The lost *Armeria* of the Lighthouse Service, the lost *Tahoma* of the Revenue Cutter fleet are monuments to the folly of proclaiming money as saved which is not appropriated. Neither vessel would have been lost had a Congress known the truth about this part of its task and performed it. The records of so-called economies are dark with the shadows of wasted lives. Rock after rock took its deadly toll while Congress chattered contentedly and ignorantly about less important matters and praised itself for having saved the money that would have prevented these disasters. I have often thought that if there are ghosts at all, the spirits of victims of alleged congressional economies would trouble the dreams of some Senators and Representatives. But of this dark phase of our national life our press knows little and says less. The emphasis is all the other way.

We need to be reminded of certain facts that are rarely stated as they are. Men write or speak thoughtlessly of the so-called Great Powers as if their individual tasks were on much the same scale. Great Britain, France, Germany, or Italy are mentioned in connection with the United States as if they were comparable, without visualizing the substantial differences between their current operations and our own. The reality, when it is grasped, is startling. Barring the British Navy and

Army and the French Army, the volume of the work of the other great nations when compared with that of our own country is in most ways relatively small. Even the two exceptions noted are lost to sight when we consider our enormous task. Many a service centred in Washington carries burdens equal to those of the similar services of all these other governments combined. The single task—still incomplete—of surveying the 26,000 miles of Alaska's coast line is larger than the like duty of any single European country, and when to this is added the intensive study of the shores of the Philippines, Porto Rico, and Hawaii, the task is greater than anything of the kind which is known in Europe. But this leaves out of account the surveying of our own Pacific, Atlantic, and Gulf shores, our great rivers, and the important work of the Great Lakes Survey. As a whole, there is no equivalent national duty in the world. A similar comparison would run through nearly the whole service of our government, though of course the British and French Colonial Administrations are both more extensive than our own.

Our greater area, its diversity, and the variety of our resources combine with the different standards among our people to make our practical work of government more vast and more complex than that of any sister land. The problems arising from industry, transportation, agriculture, and mining—to speak of no others—are such that in some respects they exceed those of all

the rest of the world, and the progress of the nation brings new ones which add almost daily to the load. Only one country in Europe has physical problems that bulk as ours and that nation—Russia—has been largely negligent of them. Congress, therefore, differs essentially from other national legislatures in the volume and variety of the work laid at its door, and it is doubtless true that when all the facts are weighed Congress will be found to be at least equal to any other similar body in the performance of exacting duties.

We must carry a like thought also into our judgments of the executive if we would be fair to those who manage the great departments and would form correct estimates of that work of ours which they are expected to do. We use the phrase "captains of industry" to mark those exceptional men who control the great producing organizations of the land. We have created this title to express a certain power of leadership we know these men to have. Do we ever think of cabinet officers as captains of industry? Hardly. Why not? The departments they temporarily direct are equal in size and in complexity to the largest corporate organizations. Let us select four for comparison, taking as examples the American Telephone & Telegraph Company, the Pennsylvania Railroad System, the United States Steel Corporation, and the Standard Oil Company. Strong men, exceptional men, are required to head these great companies, and such men are well rewarded for per-

forming services which are known to require exceptional talents. But the American Telephone & Telegraph Company is no larger nor is its work more varied than that of the Post Office Department. The problems of the Pennsylvania Railroad are not more varied, more difficult, or more extensive than those of the Navy. The United States Steel Corporation, great as it is, presents no more serious practical tasks and less extensive ones than does the War Department, and only a novice in government would say that the management of the Standard Oil Company calls for more executive ability than does the Treasury Department.

The truth is that we all underestimate the work demanded from their government by more than a hundred million people scattered over three million square miles —work arising from ever-growing needs for more and more service. This underestimating is also a habit of both the legislative and executive branches in their relations with each other.

In the fall of 1912 I declined a renomination to Congress and devoted my time to the National Campaign. On the morning of February 28, 1913, I received the following note:

PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY,
26th February, 1913.

MY DEAR MR. REDFIELD:

I write to ask if you will not accept the post of Secretary of Commerce and Labor (of Commerce, should Labor be set apart

as a separate Department). It would be a real pleasure to me to be associated with you—and, what is better, a great advantage to the Department of Commerce to have you take charge of it.

Cordially and sincerely yours,
Woodrow Wilson.

With such a problem before me I wanted the counsel of an old friend in whose character and wisdom long years had taught me confidence. I went over to the Senate and had a long talk with such a man whom I had known almost from boyhood—Senator Crane of Massachusetts. He was then about to retire from the Senate and we spoke together very frankly concerning his plans and my own. It was quite in accord with his judgment that I accepted President Wilson's unexpected invitation and four days later entered his Cabinet.

CHAPTER II

CONGRESS—THE UPPER LEVEL

It is surprising, or perhaps one may say depressing, to realize how much that is written of our national affairs tells of talk—how little of work. The burden is of almost endless, often useless, talking. Speeches good, bad, and ordinary, speeches wise and otherwise fill the ear, often to the confusion of counsel and the paralysis of action. Stress is laid on the talker rather than on the doer. Too much that we read of government is of its vocal side. Yet in quiet busy offices and in many places far afield and afloat where Senators do not enter nor Congressmen break out in speech, fruitful work is done through which we all profit although we hear too little of the unselfish service. The work of our government is its glory and forms as a whole a record unequalled on the earth.

The average citizen would doubtless say that the vocal centre of the Union was found in the Senate, and he might add without substantial error that it would be well if Senators could learn from railway managers to utilize terminal facilities. There is much to justify the thought that, though the public vaguely believes the

Senate is meant to do something, many Senators feel that it exists so that they may say something. Yet it was an experienced Senator who said when asked to make an address on a great public occasion in the free-silver campaign, "The greatest of books hath it that speech is silver and silence is golden. Therefore, I shall say nothing."

The Senate of the United States is said to be the greatest deliberative assembly in the world. There ought to be no doubt about this. The Senators admit it. The burden of its greatness is visibly borne upon some senatorial shoulders. Many Senators, indeed, so conduct themselves as to give weight to the charge that the Senator is deliberative. Others—well, there are others.

One wishes to think highly of a body which great men have honoured by their presence in the past and which to-day includes good and able men. But it is often difficult to visualize the Senate because of the Senators. A tolerant spirit finds some of them only amusing; others betray their own uncertainties by an anxious dignity. They are very human in their assumptions and conceits. Their prejudices, their ignorances, are so obvious. They are never more delightful to the sense of humour than when they take themselves most seriously. To-day they add to the gaiety of nations; to-morrow to their sorrows. But they mean to do neither. They happen to be in an arena that excites

them. There is a great deal of senatorial "cerebral elephantiasis." Nobody knows this better than the many thoughtful, earnest men who are themselves Senators.

The contrast between the British legislative electoral system and our own was shown in a striking way in the fall of 1922. The new Parliament elected on November 15th met November 20th, so that in five days the expressed will of the British people was in operation. We chose a new Congress on November 7, 1922. It did not meet until December 3, 1923. Meanwhile, a Congress elected in November, 1920, assembled in both extra and regular session and legislation was enacted by many men who had been rejected by their constituents. This is neither representative government nor democracy. It is the hand of a dead past gripping the present and guiding the future. Whether or not it gives time for reflection, as is said, it is not freedom. The people's will, though known, is ineffective. It may well be that when their will of 1922 finds expression at the end of 1923 the people will have changed their views and may again be unable to express them for two years more.

This is one of the conditions which leads to the separateness of Congress from the country. It accounts in part for the congressional psychology. Congress is in many ways a law unto itself, and often acts as it would not act if it were as responsive to the people as is

the British Parliament. Nemesis is, on the whole, rather far off. The disease called "come-back-itis" is endemic on Capitol Hill, but a fatal ending often seems remote. The public has no ready remedy. Congress can always hope that the ebb tide of disapproval may in time become a flood of support. Of course, members are swamped with telegrams and letters from active organizations, but these often balance one another. Organized effort makes itself felt through these means more effectively than does widespread inactive public opinion. A popular movement must be mighty indeed to control congressional action in the face of skillful propaganda.

It is clear to one who sits in Congress with an observing eye that the collective psychology differs from the individual one. Members as men wish to serve—many sincerely, some subserviently; but members as members are often more like masters than servants, and in much think, talk, and act as masters. There is such a thing as distinct congressional opinion separated from public opinion and unconsciously assumed, in the absence of political earthquakes, to be superior to it. It acts in many things with indifference to the country or with a consciousness of the country's ignorance which is not the less real because it is and will be vigorously denied. Things are done and left undone in Congress which the country would not tolerate if it knew—and were free to act—but which, amid the rush and whirl of political

affairs and with a press concentrated upon the larger visible features of the day, go unnoticed.

The Senate particularly looks at its talk or its work from within subjectively, not from without objectively. It is not consciously so much a group of servants under mandate to serve as it is a gathering of those whose will is law. It lacks also the corporate sense of humour to see itself as others see it.

Senators, seen from the executive standpoint, sometimes seem to think that before them every knee should bow. Certainly they expect that at their coming every door shall open. No conference, no occupation, no engagement delays their entrance. Let the Senator in, though others wait. Let the Senator talk, though work stop and the public sit without. Representatives have little intrusive ways, but they are not even a poor second in this respect. Senators differ, of course. Most of them find it natural to be gentlemen as well as Senators. In others this happy combination is not adequately revealed.

One day the telephone brought the message: "The President desires to see the Secretary at once." At that moment my secretary appeared, saying that Senator X had come in. Asking her to excuse me to the Senator and to tell him that a sudden call required my immediate presence at the White House, I went to the elevator. There was a brief delay, and the Senator, having received my message, met me in the hall. His

injured senatorial pride found solace in abuse. He declined to believe that there had been any sudden call; rather was it an attempt to escape an interview with him and therefore an affront to the great body of which he was a part. With its indulgence his anger grew. He scolded through seven floors and out through the lobby on to the street, both audibly and visibly making a show of himself.

Such small senatorial ways are well understood in Washington, and at a safe distance are treated with quiet humour. Sometimes enlivening incidents occur. J C Blank was the cause of one of them. He was an assistant messenger serving as doorkeeper in the Secretary's office and was peculiar in that he had no Christian name—only the letters J C. He had been told to be polite. One day a Senator called, asking for the Secretary. He received a cordial welcome from J C; more cordial, indeed, than he expected, for, as he made his wishes known, J C slapped him on the back and threw his arm around the senatorial shoulders saying: "Certainly, Senator, you can see the Secretary. Walk right in with me."

The emotions of the Senator may be imagined. He burst out: "Take your arm away!" and as he passed into the office, exploded: "What the h—— is that out there?" It became necessary to place J C where he was less in touch with legislators.

A certain Senator from Georgia, full of years and

dignity, was one of numerous statesmen whose constituents wanted jobs. He called one day, accompanied by an applicant. In my office was a Representative on a similar errand.

"I am Senator ——, of Georgia," said the gentleman to my secretary. "I wish to see Mr. Redfield."

"Please wait a moment; the Secretary is engaged," was the reply.

The Senator looked hard at my assistant, and remarked, "Senators are not supposed to wait a moment." He came in. The Representative did not mind; he was probably used to it.

There is a tradition that Senators are elected to enact legislation, and that the Constitution so states. Many in the Senate still find their chief occupation in these matters, but there are exceptions. At times it would almost seem as if some Senators felt that they should assume the direction of administrative details; this, of course, is chiefly in connection with appointments and promotions. To be just, one must admit that it is open to doubt whether in this respect Senators are so much the worriers as the worried. The pressure on them is constant, and thanks are often due them for standing as buffers between the department and the job seekers. Yet when a Senator launches a personal campaign for a constituent to whom he feels obligated he carries it far. One was known to say, when the wearied Secretary had done his best to find an oppor-

tunity within the law for the object of senatorial effort, that he was a party leader and must insist that this be done for him, leaving it to the Secretary to find a way of evading the statute.

In the Department of Commerce there was an established policy providing for the promotion of capable employees as fast and as far as law and funds permitted. Any such business arrangement, however, was unsatisfactory to some Senators and their wards in the service, and was ignored by both. The ward pulled the Senator's wire, and the Senator responded with the demand that the ward be forthwith promoted. A little matter like law was brushed aside as an inconvenience. Department rules and justice to other clerks were alike forgotten. It was no easy task to keep the peace among disheartened employees when senatorial aid was invoked for a promotion which had no other basis.

In one particular case, however, the outcome was unusual. The Senator had in good faith asked repeatedly for the promotion of a clerk who was then getting all her services were worth and whose Civil Service status was such that promotion was impracticable. I was absent when the Senator called; a member of my staff received him. After making his demand on behalf of the clerk and hearing in return the impracticability of granting it, the Senator wound up by saying:

"Well, if I can't have Miss X fixed up here, I'll have her transferred where she will be cared for."

The member of the staff, who had long been harried by the numerous requests of the clerk, quickly replied:

"Very well, Senator, nothing would please the Secretary more than to approve the transfer of Miss X."

The Senator, astonished at such frankness from a subordinate, looked puzzled for a moment, and then burst into a hearty laugh and ended with, "I thank you and understand perfectly." This was the last demand on behalf of Miss X, who shortly thereafter arranged her own transfer under happier circumstances.

The clerical fortunes of a Miss Y had been persistently followed by a Senator for many years. Not that Miss Y was ignored by her superiors or needed the guardianship of the Senator—she was not the kind of person who let herself be ignored. Her services did not warrant the zealous senatorial care that was given her, nor did they justify special attention. The repeated demands that she be preferred annoyed three departments, and there was rejoicing when at last a transfer was made which rid the department of her and transferred senatorial pressure in her behalf to another sphere.

One day a Senator appeared at my office with a delegation to urge the appointment of a candidate, whom he then and there presented to me, to an important post in the Department. He dwelt at length on the candi-

date's virtues. The matter was taken into consideration; but not for long, for lo! again came the Senator, and this time to explain that he had been obliged to say what he could for the applicant when in his presence, but he really hoped nothing would be done about it, because the candidate was truly not a fit person for the job!

It would not be just, however, to leave the impression that all or even most members of the upper house so comported themselves. One employee sought promotion through Senator Knute Nelson only to be told that she had no business to be where she was and that she should be "back home." Few were so frank. It should be remembered that requests of this kind were usually made by department clerks to Senators without making any application to their own superiors. It was necessary to stop such gross discourtesy by requiring as a condition precedent to promotion that application should be made through the chief of the employing service. This partly checked the practice. There were some surprising cases in which the Senator suggested what he would like to have done if the law permitted and if it were otherwise feasible.

Two further observations ought to be made on this subject—one, that the Department of Commerce, being farther from the Capitol than any other, was said to benefit thereby from greatly reduced legislative pressure; the other, that the larger number of Senators took

no part in political pressure for employees, but came as business men to transact public affairs in a helpful spirit, and this without regard to party affiliations. It is doubtful if there is any other place where more unrewarded, unselfish work is done on behalf of individuals and causes than in the United States Senate. The head of an important committee cordially assisted in undoing a serious official injustice in which he had no direct interest. Another worked earnestly for years to bring about federal aid for vocational education. One Senator is distinguished for broad knowledge of government workings acquired by patient study for many years, and another by his intelligent helpful interest in more than one government service.

The legislative relationship between a government department and the Senate is not usually so close as with the House of Representatives. In the latter body originate the authorizing and the making of appropriations—two different processes which are in the hands of two committees and which require separate action by the House itself. It is some emergency arising after the House Committee has acted or some important omission by the House that leads to a direct appeal to the Senate for an appropriation. Such an appeal, if granted, is not welcome to the House, and as the result must pass the hazards of a conference committee which includes members of the House, it often fails. At times it becomes the duty of a Secretary to take this risk.

When appearance before the Appropriations Committee of the Senate was necessary, the experience was usually briefer and more agreeable than was the case before the corresponding committee of the House. Time was always limited; one had to speak concisely and to the point, but the Senators were uniformly courteous even when their inquiries were searching. The bullying that was common in certain sub-committees of the House Appropriations Committee was happily absent and a good case received a fair hearing.

Once in Ketchikan, Alaska, I found that a landlord was about to take advantage of the expiration of a lease to raise the rent threefold for property used as a lighthouse depot. The location was at best unsatisfactory, and unused government land was near. On my return to Washington I found that the Appropriations Bill had passed the House and was pending before the Senate Committee. My request for a hearing was promptly granted, and the cupidity of the landlord was properly rebuked. An appropriation was made for a new depot owned by the Government, less costly and more effective than the old one.

But matters did not always go so smoothly. The lack of surveys off the coast of Alaska and the consequent failure to show in charts the dangers to navigation resulted in so many accidents in those waters, involving loss of life and property, that the need for surveying vessels was urgent. It had been the fact

since the foundation of the Government that, though the Coast and Geodetic Survey was charged with the duty of surveying and sounding the entire coastal waters of the United States and its possessions on both oceans, including Alaska, Hawaii, and the Philippines, not one vessel had ever been specially built for the work. The service was using an odd lot of old ships of various kinds, several of which had become unsafe. One of them, the schooner *Matchless,* had been a blockade runner in the war between the States, and several steamers were more venerable than valuable. Consequently, an earnest appeal for new vessels was made. The request for the appropriation was refused in the House Committee, but it was deemed of sufficient importance to be taken up with the Senate in the hope that this body would insert the item in the pending bill and that it might pass the risks of conference. The chairman of the Senate Committee on Appropriations was inclined to be testy. The Committee was in a hurry and not disposed to add appropriations. I was, however, permitted to state the case, and did so earnestly, knowing that human lives were at stake. Questions and answers followed from several members, until at last the chairman could endure no longer and burst out: "Your case is too strong. I'll not give you anything." And he did not.

Does it seem strange that in a demonstrable case where vessels, lives, and cargoes were frequently being

lost, a request based on undeniable facts should be so ruthlessly treated?

It is not explained by saying that the legislators were callous or cruel; they were neither, though their action had the same effect as if they were. They simply did not believe. Congress does not enjoy having an executive department urge a duty upon it. Knowing almost nothing of facts themselves, they thought the Secretary overstated; that perhaps he was working for a record; that some bureau chief had misled him. They thought anything except that they were being told the simple truth. It was "government by suspicion" doing deadly work. Of course, other services were pressing their demands, and there was not enough to go around; there never is. Least of all did the members of the Committee accept any responsibility for the results of their act of omission. It was pointed out to them that the rocks in the Alaskan channels were commonly named after the ships wrecked upon them, and that the continuous loss of vessels could be stopped only after adequate surveys had made it possible to chart and mark the dangers. Still, their minds were controlled by pique, unbelief, or suspicion, and were opened slowly to the truth. Much has since been done to make Alaskan waters safer, but much remains to be done there and elsewhere before our coastal waters will be as safe as we know how to make them.

It was not until long afterward that an appropriation

was made for the first vessel ever built in the United States for its coast survey work. This ship, the S.S. *Surveyor,* was constructed at Manitowoc, Wisconsin, and was brought to the Atlantic coast through the Great Lakes and the St. Lawrence River and canals. She arrived just in time to be taken with other vessels of the service into the Navy. She is now at her work in Alaska, bearing upon her smoke-stack a gold chevron and a gold star—the former indicating service in the war zone, and the latter telling of her success in assisting to disable the German submarine *U-39,* which sank the *Lusitania.*

After each recurring election the average voter notes the result and turns more or less cheerfully to work, glad to forget politics for a time. He foregathers with his neighbour of the opposite party and in a hundred ways shows that he has become almost unconscious of political differences. Not so in Congress. There the strife, often a petty strife, goes on continuously; sometimes visible, often unseen. Partisan attack and passionate reply take the Senate's time while public business waits. What has been well called "the schism between facts and politics" appears in grim reality. Myths are vehemently discussed. Ignorance finds free and long expression. Motives which do not exist are imagined. The Senate lives at times in a world apart from life. Its debates often lack touch with realities. Surmise, suspicion, prejudice, are vocal. One

need not go so far as to adopt the words of a recent writer about "gray-brained Senators," yet it is true that thinking is often conspicuous by its absence and empty words take up the weary tale. The "adjective secretions" of some Senators are usually in ample flow.

There is one time when all senatorial hauteur is laid aside and the master becomes a suppliant. This is the period between nomination and election in a doubtful state. Then the Senator seeks the department whose wishes late he scorned and humbly asks appointment of such as can aid him. He "cannot be elected unless Mr. X is appointed." Fortunately the Civil Service Law blocks any large amount of such misuse of public services. The advantages of such appointments are illusory. Patronage reacts upon itself and makes at least one enemy for every friend. But the patronage hunter, in or out of office, is like those insect larvæ that daily eat many times their own weight. He consumes the time and thought of many busy officers and the sole end and purpose of his being is to fatten himself. Fortunately, neither they nor those who yield to their persuasions are so numerous as they are accounted. Many Senators have flatly refused to become the vehicle of their desires.

Set in a high place, holding the reins of power, the Senate does itself injustice in many ways. It obscures its true greatness in clouds of its own making and limits its usefulness by adhesion to self-created customs which

would often be "honoured in the breach." "Senatorial courtesy" at times obstructs the public business as, for example, when it operates thus: A candidate for a national post in Washington is appointed by the President from the opposition party. Forthwith up rises a Senator to declare said candidate, though of his own party, personally obnoxious to him on account of certain things the candidate is alleged to have said or done. Promptly the candidate calls upon the Senator and proves to him, so the Senator admits, that the alleged sayings were never said and the alleged deeds were never done. The Senator goes so far as to express himself to the candidate as personally satisfied. Will he then withdraw his opposition? Not at all, for that would put him in the unhappy position of having changed his mind after having "taken a stand" upon the subject. The facts, indeed, upon which that stand were based, he admits not to be facts at all, but the stand has been taken and he cannot alter it. So he still insists that the candidate whom he has privately cleared is publicly obnoxious to him, and with these facts well known, succeeds in carrying over to his side enough votes to block the nomination and incidentally to interfere seriously with the conduct of the public business. In all this there was no reflection on the character or ability of the candidate. His selection for the post in question was earnestly sought by men of both parties, and in the Senate itself votes in support came from both

sides. No, the matter was simply the personal pride of one man which led him to interfere with the public business, and with a keen eye to a possible future use of a similar privilege a sufficient number of his colleagues supported him to make the evil deed successful. For all this there was not the faintest shadow of law. Nevertheless, be the candidate as chaste as ice and as pure as snow, if there happens to be a Senator whom in some way he may have offended, perhaps unconsciously, he can hardly hope that talent or character will serve to win his confirmation to any office to which he must be appointed "by and with the advice and consent of the Senate."

Yet Senators hold their office to be a high one though thus degraded, and quite fail to understand the disrespect which follies of this kind (to call them by no worse name) bring upon the body of which they are members.

It is unfortunate that the country cannot always respect the Senate as it desires to do and as, upon the whole, the Senate merits, because such cases as I have described and others of similar nature obscure sound realities of thought and power. It is not always obvious, but it is always true, that many Senators do their work in a non-partisan spirit. They are willing to learn from men of opposing views and are fearless of that shallow consistency which has well been called the virtue of weak minds.

One is fortunate who has known as friends such Sen-

ators as have done honour to the Senate by their presence therein. There are such men, many of them. The Senate can give to these no dignity. It springs naturally out of their inmost lives. There was my father's friend and the admiration of my boyhood, Senator Henry L. Dawes, of Massachusetts. There was my own friend from childhood, Senator Winthrop Murray Crane, also of Massachusetts. Both of these, my fellow townsmen, were of the sort that men delight to honour. There have been many others, such as Bayard, Edmunds, Thurman, Nelson—one cannot list them all. There are others like them in the Senate to-day. Upon their character their lesser colleagues cast no shadow.

CHAPTER III

CONGRESS—THE LOWER LEVEL

At an early session of the House of Representatives the chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs stood near my desk talking earnestly with some friends. A slight figure came down the aisle.

"Here, boy," called the chairman, "get me a couple of cigars."

"Certainly," was the reply.

The messenger went and came. Handing the cigars to the chairman, he said: "Next time call me Mr. Murray." (Laughter and apologies.) The messenger turned out to be Representative Murray of Massachusetts.

There is an atmosphere of genial good-fellowship in the House of Representatives. Its members do not strain after dignity; indeed, the conduct of the House itself is not dignified except on ceremonial occasions. Nowhere does a man find his level more surely. As a newcomer he is welcomed and his measure is quickly taken, perhaps in a few days. The process is silent, sometimes severe. The House is tolerant of individuality, even of eccentricity, but its quiet judgment of

character and ability is merciless. It values the man who knows; it respects sincerity. But the insincere and shallow man comes to grief. Thunder as he may on the floor or in the *Record,* his influence in the House itself is small. Nor are political differences carried into personal relations. One day a sharp debate occurred between two leading members. Each controverted the statements of the other. The contest was warm, producing as much heat as light. It ceased, and the House resumed its work. A few minutes later one combatant approached the other, and said: "John, come to lunch." The war was over.

Most of the House business is not partisan. The number of so-called "party measures" is small. Men of both parties, therefore, frequently confer and act harmoniously. Even in controversy there is much fairness. Secretary Weeks, when in the House, arose one day saying he wished to reply to the gentleman from New York (myself), and before doing so he desired to be sure that he did not misinterpret.

"Would the gentleman," said he, "kindly listen while I state his views and say if I do so correctly." He gave the substance of my views as he recalled them, and paused. I thanked him for his exceptional courtesy and said he had stated my position correctly. He then proceeded with his speech.

Most men in the House, as in the Senate, do their work in the spirit of service. The late James R. Mann

was an untiring worker and a careful legislator. The Lighthouse Service owes to him much of its present effective form. Mr. Dudley M. Hughes, of Georgia, was a faithful friend of federal aid for vocational education. That cause is deeply indebted to his earnest and successful efforts.

The weakness of the House as a working part of the Government is insufficient knowledge of economics and of the Government itself. This at times is combined with low political ideals and debased standards of public service. Public affairs are often considered from a purely local standpoint.

An able Congressman of long service publicly spoke of the House of Representatives as a mob and in strong terms criticized many of its members for ignorance of the Government for whose needs they legislate. It would, however, be unjust to include all the members of the popular branch of the national legislature in a sweeping charge of such ignorance. It is true that many of them come to Washington with scanty information concerning the Government they are to serve. Not all of them could state correctly the names of the executive departments represented in the Cabinet. Almost none of them could tell you what services are included in each department. The "Congressional Directory" performs an important function in keeping these things straight. The usual outlook of the inexperienced member is to get something for his constitu-

ents. It means little to him if a vessel of the Coast Survey be unsafe for use in distant Alaska, or if a dangerous rock in Boston Harbour be uncharted so long as he gets a new public building for a home town. He considers chiefly how his votes will affect his personal interests in his own locality. One of them spoke of himself as a d—— coward because he voted as he knew was wrong in order to appease sentiment at home. The member becomes less parochial as time passes, but it is the older men, and not always all of them, who have the truly national standpoint and who rid themselves of the impression that they are primarily local servants. It is not easy to find many who will make an active effort to advance the interests of an important public service which has no direct bearing upon their individual fortunes.

A measure was pending that provided for the construction of battleships. The question was how many there should be. One of my staff met a Representative from the Central West, and this conversation passed:

"How do you stand on the battleship question, Congressman?"

"I'm against it."

"Why?"

"It's all right for your Congressman; he's got a navy yard in his district [this was incorrect]. It means jobs for his constituents."

"But, Congressman, what if we should be at war and need a navy?"

The Congressman laughingly replied: "We're so far from the coast, they'll never reach us."

A Congressman and his friend were discussing certain important national questions when the former said he did not have time to attend to such matters, for he was the paid servant of his district and the interest of that district took all his time.

One member thought to serve his constituents by sending to them every government publication he could get. It did not always work. He received a letter reading: "Quit sending me those d—— *Congressional Records.* I've dumped a cartload in the creek, and if you send me any more I'll dam the d—— thing up."

Some men in the House of Representatives are placed by political accidents amid affairs too vast for their comprehension. The salary paid them is larger than they can earn in private life and is at times their reason for going to Congress. Thus said a one-term member before members' secretaries were paid directly by the House: "I'm living on my allowance for clerk hire, my wife doing the work. The $15,000 I get for two years will set me up in a little banking business when my term expires."

One of my assistants said that in a hearing before the appropriations sub-committee a member asked:

"What do we do this foreign trade for? Why don't we just trade here at home among ourselves?"

One day in my presence the chairman of a subcommittee asked: "When will the work of the Coast and Geodetic Survey be done?" and was told in substance that it would end when the winds ceased to blow and the tides to flow.

It was customary to place upon the Secretary's desk each morning the *Congressional Record* for the previous day, with items marked which related to the department. In this way my attention was called to an address criticizing the Bureau of Lighthouses. I read it with astonishment, for the honourable member had soared into realms of fancy. Indeed, a second reading showed that there were few, if any, correct statements in the speech. It had led to some debate, in which the time of the House had been wasted, for from first to last little had been said which remotely related to fact. The author of the address was a gentleman with whom my relations were friendly. I asked him where he got his alleged facts. His answer was, "From M——." Then all was clear. M—— was a subordinate in a district headquarters who had aspired to take the seat of his superior. His efforts were so mingled with errors that after an investigation, which brought his admission of serious faults, he left the service. From such a source the Congressman received the misinformation which, without inquiry, he placed before Congress.

The incident has importance only as showing how easy it is to waste the time of the national legislature. No one present knew the truth. Nothing prevented the imposing upon Congress of statements of a mendacious employee. As usual, there was no effective means of reply. When the facts were made clear to him, the speaker said in all simplicity that if he had known them he would not have made the speech. No correction was made.

How easy it is to criticize what no one present understands! How much more so when one cannot be called to account for what he says on the floor! How it would limit congressional eloquence if men were present in the House who knew the facts! Suspicion and imagination play leading parts in the congressional drama. The Halls of Congress are not a source of accurate knowledge concerning the Government.

Thirty years ago Woodrow Wilson wrote truly:

> The degree of separation now maintained between the executive and legislative branches of our Government cannot long be preserved without very serious inconvenience resulting. Congress and the President now treat with one another almost like separate governments, so jealous is each of its prerogatives. The Houses find out only piecemeal and with difficulty what is going on at the other end of the Avenue, in bureaus which have been created by statute. Members have been known to grow uneasy, and even indignant, if cabinet officers followed the debates from the galleries. Congress, consequently, often gropes very helplessly for lack of guidance which might be had

almost for the asking, while the tasks of the departments languish or miscarry for lack of appreciative coöperation and support on the part of Congress. We risk every degree of friction and disharmony rather than hazard the independence of branches of the Government which are helpless without each other.

The situation is worse to-day than it was in 1893.

The chairman of the Appropriations Committee was talking one day of a function he wished to end. The facts he cited related to another activity. He did not know; the House, which heard and followed him, did not know. A fruitful service was cut off through a sheer mistake. Such instances are not rare. Congress, through no fault of purpose, often "spins on blindly" without accurate knowledge of executive services. The real cause of this is that government operations are too vast and complex to be learned in the time that busy men in Congress can give to their study. The existing knowledge is over-estimated. When one sees the imperative demands variously made on the time and the strength of Senators and Representatives, the wonder is, not that so little is known of executive details, but that so much is known. One cannot absorb from Washington air in a few months a knowledge of affairs far larger than those of several of the largest corporations combined. Suspicion, therefore, in lesser minds often takes the place of wisdom, and fancy that of fact. A certain service was stopped on the ground that it was

war expenditure. It was not. It was merely begun during the war period without having any relation to the war. It was a money-maker, having saved through one suggestion to a sister service double its own annual cost.[1]

The gap—the gap of ignorance—between legislative and executive is a serious fault in our government. It weakens and wastes daily. Congress thinks it knows. "What Congress does not know is not knowledge." Yet more than once it was my duty to inform Congress that statements made by its members were mistaken. Some members know some services. Older members get a general grasp, but these very men often expressed satisfaction at some useful work of which they had never before heard. They were often asked to come and see. When they saw, they frankly admitted their surprise, but they usually declined, on the true ground that they had no time.

How shall we substitute team work for misunderstanding? Budgets alone are not sufficient. Nor does calling bureau officers "Comanches" do other than show misapprehension of the facts. Bring spender face to face with provider. Let administrator meet legislator in debate. Let the truth be learned by question and answer between department chiefs who have the facts and Congressmen who want them. Now they are poles apart. Congress thinks this would put departments

[1] See House Doc. 1188, 65th Congress, 2d Session.

on the defensive. Perhaps. Yet there have been times when the direct question on the floor from a department officer to the member in charge of a bill, "Why was this inserted (or omitted)?" would "start something." Now, despite all our hearings and printings, we are practically organized to conceal truth. Other governments provide for this; why not we? It was long ago recommended by a congressional committee.[1]

I spent some hours in the Canadian House of Commons when a supply measure was pending. The Minister whose department was concerned had charge of the bill on the floor. Facing him sat the leaders of the opposition party. The bill was read section by section, as with us, and the question was asked, "Shall this item pass?" Some paragraphs went through without debate; others gave rise to direct question and answer. Occasionally a spirited debate occurred. But the whole process differed essentially from our own in being done at first hand, so to speak, and openly. The men who knew the facts were in the House ready to question and be questioned. The House had full, free opportunity to find the whole truth. With us much of the process is actually if not intentionally secret. No one who has direct contact with the facts is present when the bill is debated. The member in charge of an appropriation measure knows what he has been told and no one present is any better informed unless by accident.

[1]See Senate Doc. 4, 63d Congress, Special Session of the Senate.

Our method is antiquated, clumsy, indirect, and in this particular respect the budget brings little if any improvement. By comparison with Canadian methods our own are as crude as they sometimes are deceptive.

The Department of Commerce had contact with the Appropriations Committee of the House of Representatives through the sub-committees on the so-called Sundry Civil Bill and on the Legislative, Executive, and Judicial Bill. These conducted hearings, to which were summoned the departmental officers whose bureaus were concerned. It was my custom to attend these hearings and to take an active part in them. Most of my cabinet colleagues did not do so. The members of the sub-committees often expressed their pleasure at my regular attendance. Let it be here set down that long experience with bureau chiefs did not show them to be the wanton spenders of public funds who have been so vigorously described. These men worked under laws that prescribed their duties. They were also placed (and this is not sufficiently known) under constant pressure from the public to do more and yet more in the line which Congress had laid down. Each tried to do the allotted work with the means provided and to meet as far as was humanly possible the increasing demands of the public.

It is the simple fact that often services were financially starved, unable to meet adequately either of the standards thus imposed. Thus serving two masters,

the bureaus asked means to meet demands which they did not create and could not control. They would have been seriously at fault had they not done so. They did this, however, with scrupulous care, and often were forced to take the responsibility of deferring important work. The sub-committees rarely had more than three members at a hearing—sometimes but one. Experience before them was pleasant or not, according to the disposition of the chairman. One of these was considerate and thorough. Others were neither. Before them department officials were badgered and insulted. The members let it be plainly known that they believed bureau officers would conceal or mislead to get funds. They were suspicious and rude. One day when an assistant was harshly cross-examined I suggested that some confidence should be put in the statements of executive officers. The answer snapped back, "We don't trust executive officers." This was true, even when those concerned were of the same party. Many men have recollections of enduring shameful treatment on these occasions. Yet certain men and services had the goodwill of Congress, while others, as worthy, lacked it.

Local interest, personal prejudice, the influence of personality all have their part in determining appropriations. I have been told by a member of an Appropriations Committee that one could not expect to have everything done in the best way, and on another occasion I secured only by earnest and persistent effort the

privilege of saving the Government $24,000 a year. The fact that a service operates to the direct profit of the Government does not seem to matter. One of these in which the entire force from the chief down was least well paid and which was provided with meagre facilities turned into the Treasury more than six times its annual cost every year. Its chief was paid $4,000 a year while others of like rank received $5,000 and $6,000. The personality of the chief of a service has sometimes as much to do with the salary given him as does the amount of work he performs, and on the other hand new laws often impose additional duties, sometimes many of them, upon a service without adding a man to the force or without giving the underpaid chief any reward for his larger responsibilities.

It would not be just, however, to leave the impression respecting the Appropriations Committee that it is negligent of its work. The reverse is true. Service on the majority side of that committee is one of the most difficult and disagreeable tasks of a Congressman. He is pulled hither and yon by exacting demands from his own colleagues, many of which he must in conscience refuse. He has to decide between conflicting demands of numerous bureaus of each department, every one of which thinks its work the most important. He must try to differentiate between services which use money ill or well.

There is a good deal of knack in so placing facts

before the Appropriations Committee as to make them clear in the brief time that is allowed. A service, for example, that reaches out all over the earth and spends several millions each year will have at most a very few hours in which to state its case. The facts are, of course, submitted rather fully in writing, and this estimate, as it is called, is the basis of discussion in the hearings. It is impossible for the committee to know all the facts about all the services. They are fairly well informed about many of them and their records are copious and are actively used. The statement made concerning a service to-day is compared with the statement of the same service a year or more before, and often questions are asked that are difficult to answer to the satisfaction of the Committee.

Yet on one occasion, a hospital asked for, say, $90,000. The spokesman stated the case and left. A member then insisted on giving them but $45,000. They got only that sum. When the member was asked how he fixed the amount, he said there was no special reason, he just thought it was enough. The hospital had either to cripple its work or ask a deficiency appropriation. Crude, this—very, but real.

It seems a grave pity that a Committee on Appropriations cannot approach the problem of providing funds for a government department from the point of view of what the department needs to do its work well, rather than from that represented by the question, "How

little can we give this department and still keep it going?" This comment was first made at a time when the Department of Commerce had vainly tried to secure approval from a sub-committee of the Committee on Appropriations consisting of representatives from Iowa, Illinois, and Tennessee for a grant of funds for vessels for the Lighthouse Service, funds which had more than a year before been authorized by Congress and which were sorely needed. It was found to be hard to impress the gentlemen from the interior with any vivid sense of the urgent coastal needs for vessels. In other words, Congress, having authorized an expenditure, refused to complete the process by actually making the appropriation, with the result that vessels already old were obliged to continue in longer and more costly service. In my experience it was impossible to impress Congress with the truth, known to every industrial operator, that it is waste, not economy, to allow a plant to run down.

An experienced scientific department officer has suggested that it would be helpful if Congress had a number of consulting engineers as independent advisers upon whom it could call for counsel on matters requiring technical knowledge. "Men on committees," he says, "who are busy with other matters and have to appropriate money more or less blindly, could submit the projects brought before them to these trained advisers and get their opinion whether the work should be

done at all and if so how rapidly." There is at present nothing of its kind, though technical officers are often consulted or examined about the work of their own service.

It is pleasant to say that the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, with which we had close relations, was under both parties courteous and careful. Yet at times it took effort to convince them. The Coast and Geodetic Survey had an ancient vessel called the *Endeavor*. Once when the lighthouse steamer which was my temporary abode had been driven ashore in the harbour of Lewes, Delaware, by a sharp gale, the *Endeavor* pulled us off the beach. We were not hard aground, or she could not have done it. The *Endeavor* was built in 1862 as a Confederate gunboat, and unverified tradition said that she was the former *Lady Davis,* presented by the women of the Confederacy to their navy. She found her way into our surveying service, along with other craft cheap to get (she cost $20,467 in 1867) but costly to use. She was without maritime virtues, slow and wasteful. It was wrong to make officers of a scientific service live and work on such a ship as their only home for months together. It was an equal wrong to the seamen. She was not only uncomfortable, but unsafe. Appeals on these grounds for another ship fell upon deaf ears, although it was shown that repairs had cost more in five years than the original price of the ship, and the steamboat inspectors

had reported (October 17, 1914): "We are unqualifiedly opposed to this vessel going to sea under any conditions."[1]

At last a happy accident brought the *Endeavor* into Baltimore, where she lay alongside a larger ship of another service, the *Maple*. Here was our chance for an object lesson. Forthwith my friend and invaluable ally, Assistant Secretary Sweet, and myself invited the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, with whom the authorization rested, to be our guests at luncheon in Baltimore. We took them to the dock in our own cars, and set them on board the *Endeavor*. Then they saw how officers of the United States had to eat, sleep, live, and work at sea in one small room. They saw the absence of toilet conveniences and of all bathing facilities. They saw the place in which the crew lived. The whole thing was disgraceful. Then, as we could not ask them to luncheon under the conditions to which our officers had to submit, they were invited to eat on board the larger ship. They lunched well on board the *Maple* and were taken back to Washington in a spirit of cordial good-fellowship. New ships were soon authorized and the *Endeavor* was sold for $1,016.

The Coast and Geodetic Survey prepares the coastal charts for the Navy and the merchant marine. There was but one lithographic press for the work. Often

[1] See House Doc. 1214, 63d Congress, 3d Session, Dec. 1, 1914.

the supply of charts ran out. There was no reserve press in case of failure. A second press was a necessity, but the chairman of the sub-committee having this appropriation in charge insisted that one was enough. He was invited to come to see for himself, the distance from his office being perhaps three hundred yards. He refused, saying such visits "were too expensive." We wrestled long and hard for that second press, and finally got it. With our entrance into the war came the demand for thousands of charts to outfit ships for the Navy and the rapidly growing merchant marine. Soon the two presses were overwhelmed. It looked at times as though some ships would be chartless. Fortunately, President Wilson had at his disposal a large sum to be used for urgent war purposes. The facts were placed before him, and an adequate sum was promptly allotted to buy an automatic press of the latest type with larger capacity than the earlier two. By the use of the combined equipment, the Navy and the merchant marine received a sufficient supply of charts.

An amusing example of needless expense in connection with the Coast and Geodetic Survey continued long after attention had been repeatedly called to it. A steam supply main from the Capitol power plant passed directly through the basement of the building of the Survey to the House Office Building across the street. The Survey, however, was not permitted to use steam from this pipe but was required to purchase

coal, hire firemen and other help, and to operate an independent heating plant in the very basement through which an ample supply of government steam passed to another building. So, also, a local electric plant was working in the basement of the House Office Building, but the Coast Survey was obliged to purchase current from a commercial company and to employ a force of dynamo tenders throughout a twenty-four-hour day. In this case where the law required a service to operate a light plant and a heating plant, although both light and heat were available from a central power plant maintained by the Government, the chief of the service estimated that $4,000 per annum was wasted. The change of a few words in the law would have ended this absurd condition. This was often asked but was refused. This situation lasted over six years and was corrected after I left Washington.

There are tricks in the congressional trade. Near the end of a short session, when the incoming Congress was to be controlled by the opposite party, certain leaders in the House asked the Senate Appropriations Committee whether the Sundry Civil Bill could pass before the session ended. On being told that it could not, the bill was so drawn in the House as to cut appropriations below what it was known the departments would require for the conduct of their work. In this condition it was passed by the House of Representatives. The political idea involved was that when the

opposing party was responsible for passing this bill in the coming Congress it would find it necessary to increase it to provide sufficient funds to do the government work. It would then appear to those who did not understand the trick that the new Congress was extravagant and its predecessor economical. The fact, of course, was that, had the former bill become a law, a deficiency bill would have been necessary to keep the regular work of the Government moving.

It is far from telling the whole truth to say that deficiencies arise with the departments. Congress sometimes by deliberate act puts a cabinet officer in a false position. I went one day to the Appropriations Committee with the usual estimate for an established service. I received no criticism of the amount asked, which had not been increased from the preceding year. Nevertheless, the chairman of the committee said:

"We've got to make this bill small. Therefore we can't allow at this time the full amount. You want, say, a million and a quarter. We will give you eight hundred thousand now, and you can come around next December for a deficiency for the balance."

The theory, of course, was that the annual bill to which public attention was directed would be reduced by a considerable sum and that no one would notice the deficiency bill in the hurry of the short session later in the year after election.

Congress takes a peculiar view of an unexpended

balance of an appropriation at the end of a fiscal year. In order to keep within the law there must be some such balance; but beware of too much! At the next session, when one goes before the Appropriations Committee for funds, the first question is apt to be, "What was your unexpended balance last year?" If there was a considerable sum returned to the Treasury unexpended, the usual thought of the committee is, not to commend you for having saved money, but rather rebuke you for having been extravagant in your estimate for the previous year! You are made to feel that the saving of public funds was a mistake. This absurd condition is well known, and is, of course, an incentive to action which prevents unexpended balances. It is small wonder, therefore, that it is said that many services cast about near the close of the fiscal year to see what is needed for which the balance of available funds can be properly spent.

Representatives were not so troublesome about appointments as Senators. Some, indeed, seemed to have little else in mind, but they were not so arbitrary as were the upper level. Many Representatives will not back an inefficient man; others will. A house member called upon the chief of a service, saying he did so to recommend one of the employees for promotion because "he had made a fine record and was thoroughly efficient." The chief asked his name. On being told, he said:

"Congressman, I'll tell you very frankly what that

man's record in the service is: it is such that I have just recommended to the Secretary that he be demoted from $1,600 per annum to $1,200."

The Congressman looked at the chief for a moment, then said: "I knew very well that that fellow was not worth a d——, but I had to come around and ask it because of strong pressure from home."

One Representative sought an appointment as commercial attaché for the editor of a country weekly whose political favour he desired. The editor spoke only English and neither he nor his sponsor seemed to have any realizing sense that foreign languages were of practical use, still less that they were necessary in other lands. They acted as if they believed the ancient rule: "If the foreigner does not understand English, speak louder." As for commercial training, they ignored it wholly.

Congress had no adequate sense of its duty as a responsible part of a government doing practical work. At the very time when it was vociferous about economies or was exulting in reduced estimates, it would allow wasteful and expensive courses that were repeatedly called to its attention to continue.

Disregarding the seasonal character of much field work, Congress often allowed appropriations to lapse. The fiscal year ends on June 30th, and if new appropriations are not made before that date serious difficulty results. Thus in 1912 the agricultural appropriation

bill did not become law until August 10th, in 1916 until August 11th, in 1918 until October 1st. In these years a so-called "continuing resolution" allowed in the interim—after the close of the fiscal year—the use each month of one twelfth of the previous year's appropriations. But the heaviest expenditures of such a bureau as the Forest Service are in the summer months when forest fires are most frequent, and therefore the failure of Congress to attend to its work caused this service and others like it very serious losses and embarrassments. They could make no final arrangements in time for the season's operations, and the appropriations when actually made were in some part almost useless because the current season had passed and the appropriations lapsed before the next season's work was well under way. A well-informed writer says of this condition: "Through what shifts and devices the fire-fighters have been employed, transported, equipped, and fed this year because of delay can only be surmised, but very serious responsibilities must have been assumed and formidable embarrassments surmounted."

Of course, the lobbyists were about, and in time three notable ones separated themselves from the common herd. They represented three distinct types of liars. The first might be called the crooked liar, of the sort that not only did not tell the truth, but would not if he could. If he met the truth in the street he would cross the road. The second was a polite liar, suave,

tactful, and courteous. It was difficult to ruffle his urbanity. Apparently disinterested, he was sure to turn up when anything arose relating to the interests he was safeguarding, prepared to make the worse appear the better reason and to conceal truth beneath skillful language sometimes as pleasant as misleading. The third would tell the truth when he saw it, but his eyes were blinded so that he could not see—a sincere and devoted man, earnest in his cause, but with a distorted vision. His zeal made him difficult, if not dangerous.

Men like these sometimes get a surprising hold. They are finely equipped with half-truths which they are practised in stating. Some members are eager to believe ill either of an Administration of opposite political faith or of a department under the care of an official who may have refused some favour. Nor is this confined to the lower house. It has its able, if not admirable, exponents in the upper chamber.

Sometimes a Senator or Representative of high character is deceived for a long time and refuses to accept the truth when it is plainly placed before him. More than once services were embarrassed and the public work hindered by antagonisms that had no better source than the clever workings of unscrupulous men made effective through those who listened to them. Eventually, however, sometimes after a long time, these men find their true level and lose their influence. Meanwhile, an administrative officer can only sit tight and

take care, where such enemies are abroad, not only to be right, but to be able to show it.

One of the pleasant recollections of service in the House of Representatives was the work of the special committee to investigate and report on so-called "scientific management" (the Taylor System), with particular reference to conditions at the Watertown, Mass., Arsenal. The committee comprised Mr. W. B. Wilson, then chairman of the Committee on Labour and later Secretary of Labour; Mr. J. Q. Tilson, of New Haven, Connecticut, the Republican member; and myself. Here was a combination—a labour leader, a lawyer, a manufacturer. The subject was highly controversial. The hearings were at times heated, to put it mildly, and the points of view of the committee were unlike if not opposed. But my colleagues were sincere and open-minded. They desired to do what was right and had no purpose to ignore facts or to bolster up preconceived opinions. So, thanks to their broad spirit, the committee rendered a unanimous report, a result that at the outset seemed impossible.

Having said so much above in criticism, it is but fair in closing to speak of the many able men in the House who in both parties constantly strive to do service to the public. Their names are too many to record here. Their work in promoting good and restraining wrong is itself their best reward. Let this be such tribute as is within my present power.

CHAPTER IV

THE CABINET

IMAGINE a small room, simply furnished, with windows at one end overlooking the White House grounds; at the other end a fireplace; at one side, windows facing the domestic yard of the Executive Mansion; opposite them, two doors and a large case of wall maps—such is the cabinet room of the United States.

A long mahogany table with five chairs on each side occupies the centre. At the end near the windows, close to the door of his private office, is the President's seat. The chairs are covered with dark-green leather. On the back of each is a small brass plate giving the title of the occupant and the date of his entering office. The seats are placed in the order of the creation of the departments. At the President's right is the Secretary of State; opposite the latter, on the President's left, the Secretary of the Treasury. Next to the Secretary of State sits the Secretary of War. The Attorney-General faces him across the table. Again on the right the Postmaster-General opposite the Secretary of the Navy, then the Secretary of the Interior facing the

Secretary of Agriculture, and the Secretary of Commerce opposite the Secretary of Labour.

The Cabinet thus seated around the council table has no legal existence. It is unknown alike to Constitution and to statute. Its powers are as modest as the room in which it sits. Many a corporation furnishes its directors with finer quarters and in its corporate affairs those directors have an authority which is singularly lacking in the Cabinet. There are no minutes, votes, recording secretary, or order of business. In the strict sense, the Cabinet transacts no business. It is a group of men who are confirmed according to law as heads of executive departments, but who as members of the Cabinet are but advisers to the President. They receive salaries as department heads, but are paid nothing for cabinet services. They are neither personally nor collectively responsible for decisions. Those are the duty of the President alone.

The day and the hour of cabinet meetings are arranged at the President's pleasure. At one time they were held on Tuesdays and Fridays; then the Friday meeting was given up. They met for a period at 2:30 o'clock in the afternoon; at another time the hour was eleven in the morning. They may sit elsewhere than in the cabinet room, and did meet more than once in President Wilson's study, on the second floor of the White House, in the evening. There are no attendants or employees of the Cabinet. Nothing could be simpler

in form than this meeting of the men who in fact carry out the executive work of the Nation.

Members assembled shortly before the hour and talked briefly in groups. It was customary to bring matters to be discussed with other members or papers to be handed to them. The President entered from his office, often accompanied by a member with whom he had been conferring. He shook hands all around and business began. It was always informal, and its method varied. If the President had matters of importance, he would state them and discussion followed. This concluded, he would ask each Secretary in order if there was business which he desired to place before the Cabinet. To insure equal opportunity for each member, it was customary to begin one day with the Secretary of State and go down the table in the order of the departments, and to commence the next day with the Secretary of Labour and go up the table. Subject to the common understanding that only matters of general interest would be brought before the Cabinet, each member was free to speak for himself and did so. Sometimes one subject would occupy the entire group for one or even two hours. Occasionally the meeting would be over in a half-hour. The time following the meeting was used by the President to confer with individual members on matters which he or they might wish to discuss.

At times when the head of a department was absent

an associate would sit in his place. Thus, when the Secretary of War was away, General Hugh L. Scott, Chief of Staff, for a time represented that department. In like manner Mr. Frank L. Polk represented the Department of State in the absence of the Secretary. Discussion was as free as air, limited only by the fact that the members were present to inform and to advise the President and that consideration of his wishes and responsibility was the unwritten law.

Does any one suppose cabinet members think alike and always agree? If so, he is strangely mistaken. When I read of the "serene atmosphere of the council chamber" or am told that cabinet solidarity is an axiom of our polity, I recall with amusement much that took place. Presidents do not desire rubber stamps for advisers. They want to know what men think and why they think it, and all present gain from frank and fearless expression of differences. President Wilson told more than once of a meeting at Princeton to which, with varied and conflicting views, he and others went only to find that, at the close of a full discussion, a conclusion was reached which none of them had in mind at the beginning. So generous controversy around the cabinet table produced light, and such heat as arose passed away. It is hardly conceivable that it should be otherwise among ten men of varying temperaments and training, differing in point of view and experience.

Each Secretary also inherited certain traditional

antagonisms. They were there before he arrived and he took them over on assuming office, often without knowing it. They had their roots in departmental traditions and in the over-zealous loyalties of subordinates. Sometimes a Secretary would voice service suggestions which were thus brought to him, only to be plainly taken to task by a colleague. Commerce and the Treasury differed over several functions. Some in the State Department felt that it should do the foreign trade work of the Department of Commerce, and the Interior Department, in charge of the National Parks, yearned also for the Forest Service, which was conducted by the Department of Agriculture, and perhaps vice versa. The Navy and the Interior Departments had divergent views about oil reserves.

There was always in the background an element of jealousy between the civil and the military services. Mutual appreciation and good sense kept this down, but it would appear from time to time in a way that was unmistakable. I felt it necessary to protest vigorously against the disintegration of the Department of Commerce by transferring important agencies and activities to newly created commissions which lay outside the Cabinet's scope, but there was no exception taken to my outspoken position.

Confusion over jurisdiction had its humorous side. By a curiosity of law, certain brown bears in Alaska, being considered game animals, were placed under the

Department of Agriculture; other bears, black ones, being considered fur-bearing animals, were controlled by Commerce; the white polar bear, ignored by law, fell to the uncovenanted mercies of the Interior Department. So, of course, customs officers belonging to the Treasury Department got sadly mixed up when the cub of some black bears belonging to Commerce happened to be brown, and so ostensibly belonged to Agriculture. There was thus a bear complex. Of course, the zoölogical solution would be to have bear parents more careful about the colour of their cubs. Cabinet members were quite willing to enjoy such situations, for their meetings were usually of a serious sort. War did not promote jocularity.

A lot of eager newspaper men were always waiting outside when each cabinet meeting closed, seeking to learn what had occurred. Alert, tactful, and experienced, they could cleverly add the little one member might say to the few words dropped by another, and so build up a "story." The rule of courtesy obviously requires that the President alone shall give out news concerning the cabinet discussions, and this was pretty well observed. In some cases, however, a skillful correspondent would piece together an account of cabinet happenings of approximate accuracy. More often the printed accounts of what went on in the cabinet room were amusingly incorrect.

After the President returned from Paris he frankly

discussed the Treaty with the Cabinet. He spoke of the arrangement respecting Shantung, saying it was contrary to his preferences and that he objected to it. He felt, however, that factors of great human value outweighed the Shantung conditions and laid emphasis on the Japanese promise to withdraw, saying earnestly, "I have faith that the Japanese will keep their word." It was a pleasure to write Mr. Wilson on the day after the Japanese evacuated Shantung in November, 1922, reminding him of this incident and congratulating him upon his foresight.

It is not news that in the spring of 1913 relations between Japan and the United States threatened to become acute. The future historian will record in this connection that Mr. Bryan rendered a great service to his country. The phrase, "Nothing is final between friends," spoken to the Japanese Ambassador, then had its origin. At the time when feeling was highest the Joint Army and Navy Board recommended that our Pacific fleet, which consisted of the *Saratoga* (the former *New York*) and some smaller vessels, be moved from the Chinese rivers to the protection of the fortifications in the Philippines. This was brought up in the Cabinet for discussion. The views of the Joint Board had great weight and the feeling was nearly unanimous that it would be well to move the ships.

The President felt strongly upon the subject, and after a warm discussion said he would alone take the

responsibility as Commander-in-Chief of refusing to move the fleet. This was a serious decision. It was in accord with the personal views of the Secretary of the Navy, but was opposed to professional naval and military advice.

The ships were not moved, and events justified the President's judgment.

On one occasion a communication from the German Ambassador was read to the Cabinet. I do not recall its purport, but its language was startling. As it was read we heard with astonishment, "The Imperial German Government *demands,*" etc. The reading proceeded, but I could not contain myself and burst out:

"*Demands,* Mr. President, DEMANDS?"

The President said: "Read it again."

When this was done, he suggested that the Secretary of State return the communication to the German Ambassador, pointing out that, doubtless through inadvertence, language had been used which the Ambassador would not have permitted had it come to his personal attention. The communication was returned later with the word "demands" changed to "requests."

The day came when the German message was read announcing that "all sea traffic will be stopped with every available weapon," but giving us permission to send one ship weekly to a specified British port on stated days if marked in a particular way and steering a fixed course. The shadow of war had crept for weeks

closer and closer. The feeling in the country seemed to have become less violent and more determined. Hard as was the alternative of war, for it meant the sending of our sons to wounds and death, there was a certain sense of relief that we need hesitate no longer and that the matter had been settled by forces whose weight was beyond all doubt.

Then came the day on which the President's message was read to a united Congress, with the Supreme Court and the Cabinet present, as well as the Diplomatic Corps. My valued friend, the French Ambassador, sat near, and when the full purport of the message was clear, our hands met and grasped firmly. I shall not forget the expression in his eyes as he realized that the great republic of the West had thrown her mighty strength into his national cause.

Much had already been done in preparation by both Congress and the Executive, but vastly more remained to do. It seemed almost as if the Nation were a great helpless bulk of undeveloped power which had set its hand to that which it was unable to perform. Wealth and resources existed in overflowing abundance, but they were quite unorganized. There was little ready for use and there was instant pressing need for vital things which we did not have. As early as August 16, 1915, Dr. Hollis Godfrey had called on me at my old home in Pittsfield, Mass., and suggested in some detail the organization that afterward became the Council of

National Defense. Later he discussed it with me in Washington and with General Leonard Wood. We gave him letters to the Secretary of War, who approved the plan. The act creating the Council passed in August, 1916, and the Council itself, with its Advisory Commission, was organized in the following fall.[1] It therefore had begun to function before we entered the conflict, and one preliminary stage was thereby passed. Out of this grew the great civilian war organizations. The foreign trade of the country was placed in the hands of the War Trade Board; its domestic trade in those of the War Industries Board. Fuel and food were put under the control of special war organizations. What may be called the War Cabinet was created, composed of the heads of the military departments and the special war and financial services. The Espionage Act and the Trading with the Enemy Act were both drafted by the law officers of the Department of Commerce and were united into one law when enacted by Congress. The necessary legislation was passed, including the great achievement of the Draft Act. In accordance with a suggestion made by the Director of the Census, the electoral machinery in the country was used to register more than twenty million men of fighting age, and the President of the United States became the head of the greatest war machine in the world.

[1] Hearings before sub-committee No. 2 (camps) of the Select Committee on Expenditures in the War Department, House of Representatives, 66th Congress, 1st Session, Serial 3, part 15, pp. 4–5.

Gradually Washington became transformed. Great structures to house the army and navy services were placed in Potomac Park and others on the Mall. Some of them remain, eyesores, perhaps necessary ones, but showing how the ugliness of war intruded itself. Anti-aircraft guns were mounted in Potomac Park. Extreme care was taken to safeguard public buildings, and guards were everywhere. On two occasions, having forgotten my pass, I was temporarily excluded from the War Trade Board's offices and from the State Department building. The streets became congested. Men in uniform were free to stop passing automobiles and ask for a ride, and it became customary for automobile owners to pick up war-workers on the way downtown and take them to their offices.

The work of each department left its peaceful routine and took on a warlike aspect. More than fifty seagoing vessels from the Department of Commerce service were turned over to the Army and Navy, and remained with them throughout the war. In a hundred ways the restrictions and expressions of a nation in conflict came into being.

Officials and hostesses were freed from the amusing and at times the embarrassing requirement that the representatives of the Allies and of the Central Powers must not meet. There was thus an end to duplicated dinners.

There arose the sudden cult of dehydrated foods, and

new processes and new containers were constantly presented for approval. In the fall of 1917 the ladies of the Cabinet were gathered at the home of the Secretary of State, and moving pictures were taken in the garden showing them in the act of eating various dried vegetables and fruits. This was followed by a repast of these foods which were described in their various stages by a woman exponent of the process.

Late one Saturday afternoon in the spring of 1917, when almost every one in the office had gone home, I was enjoying the prospect of a Sunday rest. Home and quiet, a bit of time to read, to talk with friends —thoughts of these and similarly pleasant things made the outlook toward the coming day a restful one.

But the dream was rudely broken. My secretary entered: "Sir George Foster wishes to see you." He was the Minister of Trade and Commerce of Canada, and was in Washington to deal with mutual war problems. One of these he had brought with him to turn my thoughts away from the domestic utopia where they had been dwelling. From dreams of peace we awoke to realities of pork and beans and cans for same—more cans, indeed, than had ever entered into my personal calculations. Sir George announced that he urgently required 50,000,000 cans for pork and beans, and that, starting about July 1st, he would require 12,000,000 additional cans monthly for the same product. That

meant 122,000,000 cans during the rest of that year. It appeared that British Tommies had tasted the pork and beans which the Canadian troops brought over, and hungered for them so that the first 50,000,000 were "urgently required to fulfill British War Office orders." (The quotation is from the schedule which Sir George left at the time.)

Activity of many kinds followed. There was a serious shortage in our own supply of tinplate, and the officials at the British Embassy reported that there would be little likelihood of securing enough tin to supply all of our needs. Then began conferences with makers of tinplate and of tin cans, with canners, and with wholesale grocers. Our records show that "it was decided that we should not only discontinue for the present, at any rate, the packing of beans, spaghetti, hominy, and other products of a non-perishable character, but also soup." Sir George suggested saving tinplate "by discouraging its use in the manufacture of paint cans, blacking cans, and the like." Various substitutes for tin cans were proposed, and as far as possible used. Eventually, with the effective aid of the Secretary of Agriculture, the Canadians and British got their pork and beans.

The war necessarily cast its shadow over the social life of Washington, and at the same time it produced its own high lights and threw them on men and their actions in ways that were sometimes startling. One evening

during a gathering at the French Embassy my attention was attracted by a poster which was thrown over the back of a lounge. I read it with mingled horror and wrath, and looked about for someone to sympathize with me.

Not far away were Chief Justice White (a Confederate veteran) and General Hugh L. Scott. I called them, and we three stood there carefully going over that poster notice addressed to the people of the city of Liége by the German military commander after the capture of that city. It said, in substance, that the people of Andennes (a neighbouring town), after having witnessed the favourable disposition of the German troops, had later attacked them in the most treacherous manner. Therefore, it went on, the Germans had reduced the town to ashes and had caused more than a hundred persons to be shot. This, it proceeded, was thus told to the people of Liége that they might know what would happen to them if they behaved in a similar manner. It was signed by the German general commanding.

This poster had been torn from a wall in Liége by an American—at the risk of his life—and was concealed in his clothing and brought out. There was grave doubt whether there was any such attack by the people as the poster alleged; but there was no doubt that women and children were among those shot.

It is not conventional openly to admire profanity,

but there are times when it seems almost to have a spiritual value! Be this as it may, the Chief Justice of the United States swore long and deeply when he read that poster, and his oaths were music to my ears and refreshment to my spirit.

With our entrance into the conflict came the series of delegations from the nations associated with us. One after another these missions were formally welcomed and entertained, and quietly took up their work with the departments and services concerned. All these friendly groups desired to pay their tribute to the memory of Washington by visiting Mount Vernon and placing an offering in his tomb. As we went down the river for this purpose in the *Mayflower* with the British delegation, and again with the French Mission, and later with others, imagination brought stirring pictures out of the past.

It was no trifling experience to see English and French tributes placed together on Washington's grave and to realize that the conflicts and differences between several nations during a long past were put aside in a united struggle for a cause now happily common to them all. Washington himself seemed to grow in stature. He was no less our own, but other nations also laid claim to him and acknowledged his world-wide worth. He was American first—that all gladly acknowledged; but he was also a great international creative force, a true world figure, ours but not ours alone,

proudly, willingly claimed by all as a great leader of mankind. There seemed a certain naturalness in the tributes paid, as if all felt his ideals were those which were inspiring them to their present conflict.

My thoughts often run back in pleasant remembrance to the men who met during those trying days in the cabinet chamber. It was a group of friends, with strong individual differences of temperament and conviction. President Wilson wrote of them in a note to me dated December 26, 1914, as "such a remarkable band of friends and of disinterested public servants . . . gathered together in this little family which we call the Cabinet." There was no little of the family spirit about it. Letters lie before me from almost all of them, and they are full of a cordial, almost affectionate, spirit. I can see the group now around the council table.

Lansing is sitting, as was his habit when giving close attention, with pencil in hand sketching the faces of imaginary persons upon a pad. I rescued two of these sheets and got him to sign them. He drew skillfully and his fanciful portraits were full of individuality. He was a Bible student and his habit was to read in the small hours when the rest of the world knew sleep.

Garrison, at his right, was a natural rebel who, when he saw a rule or ordinance, longed to break it. He was

quick and constant in opposition and ably insistent on his own views. A New Year letter from him dated December 31, 1913, is addressed to me as "My dear old lover and stater of fundamentals." The allusion is to an alleged habit of using the words "basic" and "fundamental," to excess. The note closes thus:

> Whatever disillusion official life may bring, friendships are real and lasting and amply repay us for other losses. May we both live to engage in our weekly battles with enthusiasm and to add to our respect and admiration for each other at every truce.

Baker was a singular contrast to Garrison, his predecessor. He was quiet and gentle; a lucid thinker, with a wonderful gift of clear, convincing speech, a finished orator. When he was about to undertake his work in the spring of 1916, he wrote me from Cleveland:

> I shall have to rely upon you all to be very patient with my inexperience, and if I can just get over the feeling of homesickness at leaving my home, my family, and friends here for a while, I shall pitch into the hard work of Washington and do what I can of the task.

If I had to put an impression of him in two words, I should speak of him as possessing forceful modesty. He was keenly appreciative of courtesy. In the sum-

mer of 1918 he was very tired, and Mrs. Baker had been ill. I sent them off for a day or two on our motor vessel, the *Kilkenny*. In a note of acknowledgment he writes:

There was grace in the day for me, thanks to the *Kilkenny* and to Captain Dryden and his courtly crew.

Burleson had been a member of the House Committee on Appropriations before entering the Cabinet, and there were those who said that appearance before him was an ordeal. I think this may have been true if there was any attempt to secure appropriations that were undesirable. He was notable for his umbrella, which was always with him. It was as true a trademark as the scythe of Father Time. He was the liaison officer with Congress—in some respects the political manager of the Cabinet. A strong partisan, he was a loyal friend.

Lane used to object that his right side was bruised where my elbow poked him in the ribs. He had a poet's spirit and a musician's soul, with a fine gift of expression. We had an appointment together at the time of the *Lusitania* disaster and he wrote:

My dear Bro. Redfield:

I can't go with you to-day. I have two friends on the *Lusitania* and it can be no holiday for me.

He told me one day that he had been up to some gathering at Baltimore where he had spoken rather too enthusiastically, he feared, about California. When the meeting was over, he expressed his thought to one of the coloured brethren who was present.

"Oh, no," said the latter, "Mr. Secretary, yo' didn't say too much about California. Has yo' ever been over on de Eastern Sho'?"

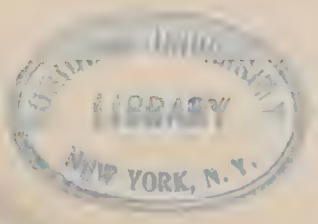
Lane said he had not, but he hoped soon to go.

"Well, Mr. Secretary, yo' surely ought to go dar. Dat am God's own country. Why, Mr. Secretary, when Adam and Eve was in Paradise befo' de Fall, Eve she took sick. De angels dey had a consultation and said she ought to have a change. So dey went to de Almighty and tole Him Eve ought to have a change and asked him to send her down to de Eastern Sho'. De Almighty he shook his head and he said, 'No, no, dat wouldn't be no change.' "

It was quite in accord with Lane's kindly spirit that he should write at the beginning of 1914:

> May all the blessings you deserve and more be your portion in 1914. I want you to begin the year with the knowledge that your brothers in the Cabinet have a real affection for you.

Houston was the best economist in the Cabinet. He had a way of letting the discussion run along till everybody had his say, and then coming in with a few terse remarks that summed the whole thing up so as to leave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some of the rest of us high and dry. McAdoo wrote to me of him in 1914:

> Houston is a delightful fellow of great intellectual force and I am most fortunate in having him associated with me in the great work that is ahead of us.

This refers to the selection of Secretaries McAdoo and Houston to recommend the location of the Federal Reserve Banks.

Wilson, sitting opposite me, was a fine, sincere type of labour leader, not afraid to tell Labour when it was wrong; earnest in defending it when he thought it right. He published a book of poems after the war. I recall with admiration his tender care of his invalid wife. I had known him as Chairman of the Labour Committee in the House of Representatives and had there been associated with him in active committee work, to which a reference is made elsewhere.

Although his family had sacred memories of a naval hero, Daniels had a horror of uniforms. It did not wholly please him to have naval officers wear them in Washington. He disliked official formality and ceremonies. He went with me one day to his home state to receive the degree of LL.D. from the University of North Carolina. He had no doctor's gown—he didn't want one and would not get one. One had, of course, to be borrowed for the immediate occasion, but almost before the ceremonies were over Daniels had discarded

his doctor's garb and was back in his business suit. At one time he wrote a laudatory report on the conduct of the marines in France, and some of the army men, while acknowledging the high merit of the marines, thought the report rather overdone. Just at that time the subject of gas masks came up in the Cabinet.

"Terrible things, those gas masks," said Daniels. "I had to wear one of them for over thirty minutes once."

Said Lane: "When did you have to wear a gas mask for thirty minutes?"

Before Daniels could answer, Burleson burst in: "When he wrote that report about the marines."[1]

The famous Wine Mess Order of June, 1914, made a great stir for a time but in some cases at least "those who came to scoff remained to pray." The tumult has passed, but it is well to know that the order had its origin in the ruin of a young officer through drink.

It is said to be true that at the beginning of his work the suggestion was made to Daniels by a high officer of the Navy that the latter and his associates would undertake the actual detailed management of naval affairs, leaving the general policy and the empty dignity of the post to the Secretary of the Navy. This did not please Daniels, who made it plain that nothing of the kind would be permitted. It was certainly true that

[1]The story is told by courtesy of Hon. Frank L. Polk.

he gave painstaking care to the important responsibilities he bore.

A mild poke at Mr. Daniels's expense may bear repeating. Before the war the *Dolphin* was reserved for the use of the Secretary of the Navy. In a moment of sarcasm she was, I think, classed as a despatch boat. If so, it was a slow despatch—such as our friends in France would call *petite vitesse,* or like Eugene Field's "Schnellest Zug." Once I told Daniels I had seen a sad, sad sight. In quick sympathy, he asked what it was. I replied: "The *Dolphin* coming up the Potomac against an ebb tide." Imagine his feelings! It is certainly true that Daniels was foremost in plans for preparedness for the national defense.

I was associated with McAdoo in the 1912 Wilson campaign and came to have a great respect for his ability. In a personal letter of December 24, 1913, he wrote:

> It gives me infinite satisfaction to realize every day, as we go along here together in the great work that confronts us, the unanimity of aim and unselfishness of purpose on the part of all of my associates in the Cabinet and their patriotic devotion to the service of the country.

McAdoo more or less guided the appointments made by the Administration in New York State. He was a good business man, accustomed to direct, clear thinking. and one had always to concede the force of his person-

ality and the sincerity of his motives, even if one disagreed with his judgment.

When McReynolds was appointed to the Supreme Court, he wrote:

> I will surely miss the association with you, and for many reasons I dislike to give up the active fight. Still, the new place will give so much to do that there will be small time for regrets. The association with you and the others at the cabinet table has been a delightful experience that I shall always cherish.

I think there was no one that was not sorry to part with him, however pleased at his promotion.

Neither Palmer nor Gregory was as long associated with us as were the others, but both were cordially welcomed into the group of personal friends that formed the Cabinet. Palmer took calmly the explosion of the bomb in front of his house. It hardly excited him as much as it did me. I remember that the noise and shock brought me "all standing" out of my bed and to the nearest window.

On one occasion I was reading, for some forgotten reason, a protest which had been sent to me against a suggestion made by the Department of Commerce that we look to China for a supply of bristles, since the Russian supply had been cut off. Vice-president Marshall was presiding. He sat for a time with his invariable cigar in his mouth, quietly listening. Then

suddenly removing his cigar, he broke out: "Tell him to shave and get his own raw material."

An incident in "The Life and Letters of Walter H. Page" which the Ambassador did not understand is easily explained. He relates in substance that he went to a hotel to luncheon with most of the Cabinet and with Ambassador Sharp, only to find that the conversation consisted of jokes and banter without any serious talk on public matters. He expressed wonder that with the Ambassadors to Great Britain and France present, as well as most of the Cabinet, the time should have been spent in this way.

The delightful habit of lunching together at the Shoreham had been formed long before among the cabinet members. We all sat at a certain table and, as the time of our meeting there was fixed and known, curious people would come in to see the Cabinet together —and not only to see, but also to hear. In so intimate a group it was not always easy to keep conversation on confidential matters within properly subdued tones. Once, when nearly the length of the restaurant away, I heard a colleague speaking of some public matter. The obvious disadvantages of the situation in time impressed themselves upon me, and I objected to discussing public matters in a place where any one sufficiently curious could overhear, and finally withdrew altogether. Later these gatherings were abandoned. Indeed, I think they were given up before the time of which Ambassador

Page writes and the gathering to which he refers was probably a special one, overshadowed more or less by the necessity of caution which had been reluctantly learned.

One of the great privileges arising from a cabinet position in Washington is the opportunity it affords to meet people of every walk in life from all parts of the country, and indeed from all lands. Friendships arise with legislators in both houses, with associates in the department, with those who come into business relations with the various services, and with many who are met socially. One can hardly get through an average week's work without contacts extending from President to messenger, from ambassador to some private caller who bespeaks helpful interest. It is sometimes said that there are social cleavages in Washington separating an official class from the workaday world, and especially creating a sort of preferred social place for the cabinet officer. It is easy to imagine cleavages where none exist, and if a cabinet place is in any true sense "preferred" it is, and ought to be, because it gives opportunity for service. The men called to cabinet work are like other men, weak or strong, wise or unwise, foolish or sensible. Their position may reveal them; it is not likely to change them. The hauteur occasionally ascribed to cabinet members, if it exists, is probably normal to an individual who attaches it through his own personality to the post which for a brief time he is called upon to occupy.

A cabinet colleague thus spoke of the existing relations between Congress and the Executive: "Congress feels that it has authority without accepting responsibility and that the Executive has responsibility but without authority." Like every sweeping generalization, this errs by excess, but it is a fairly correct statement.

The position of a cabinet officer in our government is in some ways curious. Is he an administrator, the active head of a force of many thousand men engaged in constructive or scientific work? Yes, he is that, and that alone makes large demands on time and thought. But a cabinet officer is more than a working executive. He is a counsellor in preparing and developing national policies, many of which cover matters far outside his executive reach. One of these two great (and sometimes conflicting) duties must be done; the other cannot be left undone.

The friend may not have been wholly wrong who said that I looked at my duties too much as a business matter—too little as the creative service of an adviser. The dilemma was always there in some measure—differing, of course, according to the scope of each particular department. We have not yet risen to the point where we can relieve it by a permanent under-secretarial staff. We are still in our "teens" in this respect. Probably, therefore, neither phase of our necessary public work receives to-day as full a measure of care as the public interests deserve.

CHAPTER V

THE PRESIDENCY

It is six years since those thrilling days of early 1917 when we stood on the threshold of war and knew we were about to enter. We can think more quietly now, and can judge men and events on both sides of the sea with fuller knowledge. May we not, therefore, consider for a moment him on whose shoulders lay the grave responsibility of taking the final step? There were, of course, others to urge, to counsel, to legislate, to support, but the initiative was solely his—a solemn duty not, he thought, to be undertaken in passion or even in strong patriotic excitement, but as a nation's deliberate final choice between right and wrong—a decision to be made soberly, prayerfully, in the fear of God and of no man.

A lover of peace, seeing clearly the infinite folly of war, and knowing the moral and economic evils that follow in its train, he yet became the convinced and active leader of a great nation in conflict. More than twenty million men were enrolled under his command and the products of many thousands of factories were placed at his disposal. It was a minor item in a long

list that one hundred million dollars were allotted to him to spend at his discretion. New organizations, new methods, new mechanisms for combat, sprang into being at his word.

In time of war he prepared for peace. During the rush and roar of the strife he foresaw the end and sought to embody the high ideals of America in a form that would make them useful to mankind. In the midst of conflict with the armed foe, he purposed, if possible, to mould into fruitful forms of service in peace the powerful traditions and self-interest of those who were his associates in the struggle. In the double effort he had also to contend with misunderstanding at home. The forces under him overcame the foe in the field. Thereafter in council his ideals were hesitatingly accepted by reluctant associates. In his own land his antagonists triumphed for a season. Enemies at home and abroad could force the sacrifice of his physical vigour, but his ideals were unharmed, and now rise in renewed strength. When one recalls the venom with which Washington and Lincoln were alike assailed, he may smile at the detractors of Woodrow Wilson. He strove to do right as God gave him to see the right, and awaits the final decision with a quiet mind. It will be remembered of Mr. Taft that he endeared himself to the Nation by the fine dignity with which he met defeat, but the conduct of his successor is no whit less worthy.

It is hard to understand how any one who has seen the work of our Chief Executive close at hand can covet his task. My acquaintance has included five Presidents—Cleveland, Roosevelt, Taft, Wilson, and Harding. I have seen them at work—one of them for more than six years of association. It was President Harding who said to me in the executive office that he had not time to be President of the United States. His statement will be readily understood when the facts are known. There is no eight- or ten- or even twelve-hour day for our Chief Executive. Frequently his calendar is filled with appointments in quick succession covering all the day and reaching into the night. No corporate directors who had glimmerings of sense would permit their head to be such a victim of time-wasters as the President of the United States is obliged to be. President Harding also told me one day that after he had finished with the patronage hunters and other interviewers he would have between three and four hundred photographs to autograph.

There are hundreds of people who think they have the right to intrude upon the President merely to satisfy their own curiosity. The person is rare who considers either the President's convenience or the pressure on his time and strength.

I have often seen the President's table piled high with papers—not all of them important—that required his signature. His round of callers would bring distrac-

tion to an industrial leader. There is sound reason for the President's personal physician being near at hand, for the task is such that daily watchfulness must be used to keep his physical and mental powers at highest pitch.

Presidents, of course, do not complain, but carry their load cheerfully; yet if the country once visualized the hard labour the President has daily to perform, a change would be made. It would be possible to give the Vice-president minor executive tasks which would relieve the overburdened Chief Executive and make the subordinate office of greater practical service than it is. Let no one think it is for pastime only that the President plays golf or tennis. Rather is it true that, however enjoyable, these exercises form a part of the working day, and are done under the physician's directions for keeping fit.

Under such conditions the President has little time to visit the various working services of the Government or to become personally acquainted with them. President Wilson did, in fact, get about in a surprising way. More than once he suddenly appeared at my office for a brief talk, and during the war his touch with the military services was constant.

Shortly after the establishment of the war services the President one day, without warning, decided to visit one of the officers in charge. He was ushered into an anteroom occupied only by a stenographer busily at

work. The stenographer explained that the director was in conference, and asked if the President would please be seated and wait a few minutes.

"You might care to look at the morning paper while waiting," suggested the obliging clerk.

The President, of course, graciously accepted, and after a few minutes the clerk, feeling his responsibility for entertaining the Chief Executive, said:

"How's your wife?"

"Very well, thank you," replied the President.

Just then the Secret Service men, always watchful of their charge, peeped in the door. At the same time the director opened his own door, and saw in astonishment the President waiting for an interview. The stenographer, innocent of Washington etiquette and thinking first of his own superior, must have had a bad quarter of an hour. President Wilson would quietly enjoy the humour of the matter and would understand both the clerk's ignorance and politeness.

Possibly there are those who regard the use of the *Mayflower* by the President as a luxury—one of the comfortable perquisites of the presidential office. It would be more correct to think of her as a means of giving the President a few hours of peace, a little time for thought and brief mental and physical rest. The *Mayflower* is a comfortable craft, but she lacks some maritime virtues. Her commanding officer told me she was a "clumsy brute," and the operation of docking and

turning her would give pain to the captain of a handy ship.

At a naval parade in Hampton Roads the *Mayflower,* used that day by the Secretary of the Navy and his guests, of course led the line of moving ships. Our own fine Coast Survey steamer, *Isis,* carrying the flag of the Secretary of Commerce, was second. We had a task during the parade that afternoon to keep from overtaking the *Mayflower,* and it was with joy we hailed at last the signal to disregard her movements. She set out at full speed for Norfolk and we followed, feeling as dogs might do when out for a free run. But alas, when the *Isis* used her full power it soon appeared that the *Mayflower* could not keep ahead. It would never do to pass the flagship, so despite her signal we dallied along in her wake and found relief in passing her only after she reached her anchorage.

On the occasion of another naval review, this time in the Hudson River at New York, the *Mayflower* was again leading with the President on board. Once more the *Isis* was second. It took most of the river to give the *Mayflower* room to turn. I was on board the *Mayflower* and rejoiced with a pride, perhaps inherited from some seafaring ancestors, to see the *Isis,* with her double screws and quick response to her helm, swing about in a circle one third the diameter of that made by the *Mayflower.*

I can see my old friends of the Coast Survey smile at

my fondness for the *Isis*. She was a beautiful ship, not indeed made for surveying, but even for that work far better than her predecessors. She lies at the bottom of the sea, her sides torn by treacherous coral reefs off Florida, misled in her course by a displaced buoy.

President Wilson had the happy gift of mental detachment, and could forget his cares in enjoyment of a good show and find rest in so doing. I have often seen him sitting with the White House ladies in the right-hand end of the first gallery at Keith's, his seat indicated by the flag thrown over the balcony rail, and have myself keenly enjoyed his interest in the performance. Even if the show were poor, he would find interest in what the actors were trying to do, in the thought struggling for expression. He was a delightful dinner guest and social companion, full of humour, easy, informal, and genial. As his host, I knew him as the charming, cultured gentleman, without poses or visible official restraints. It was a privilege to myself and to my household when at the White House to have a near glimpse of the beautiful family life and affection that prevailed there.

In calling upon the President on official business, one was always sure of a quiet, thoughtful hearing. His grasp was quick, his questions direct, and his spirit kindly. Such meetings were not formal but friendly. Sometimes we met in the executive office, sometimes in one of the White House parlours, occasionally in the

upstairs study. On one such occasion we were sitting in the executive office, whose southern side has several large windows looking out on the White House grounds. Twenty minutes had been reserved for me, but our business was despatched in half that time and we continued in friendly talk for a little while. I do not recall the business that brought us together that day or the general tenor of our conversation, but in the course of it President Wilson said:

"Sometimes as I sit here I feel as if the whole American people were looking in the window." In a moment he added, "I hope they know I am trying to do the work well."

Before the Administration was a week old I went to him to discuss the subject of appointments in the Steamboat Inspection Service. Patronage hunters were pressing for changes. I told him that, as the steamboat inspectors were charged with the duty of safeguarding the lives of passengers, that service should be kept strictly on a merit basis and that no removals or appointments should be made in it for any political reason. He cordially approved, and that rule prevailed.

So far as his heavy cares permitted, President Wilson showed keen interest in the progress and development of departmental work of every kind. During the war an inventor produced an all-metal airplane of which he expected great things. It was sent to the Bureau of Standards for examination. The President was asked

to see it, and gladly consented, but the only time available was on a Sunday. Accompanied by Mrs. Wilson, we went out to the Bureau of Standards, only to find that the custodian had misunderstood his orders and we were locked out. A hasty search found an unfastened window, and this served as a sufficient entrance for the President and his wife. I have always enjoyed the recollection of the President of the United States and the First Lady of the Land climbing in through a half-opened window rather than fail to carry out the purpose of their visit.

Before the war, demands for scientific research on behalf of the Government Departments in their relation to industries, with the consequent benefit to the industries themselves, were overtaxing the facilities of the Bureau of Standards. These demands had been so increased by the war that the service was in danger of being swamped. The problem was to get adequate buildings and equipment and get them quickly, for neither the enemy abroad nor our military services at home would wait. This meant obtaining a considerable sum of money. There was no time to submit estimates to the Appropriations Committee of one or both houses of Congress and to await the slow process of legislation. That involved risk of disaster. The Director of the Bureau of Standards and myself were returning to Washington on a train which took all day for the journey. We talked about an industrial lab-

oratory in which pressing war problems could be handled on the scale and with the speed that were required.

We concluded that the only way to move the matter quickly was to ask the President to allot as a war measure a sufficient sum from the amount placed at his discretionary use by Congress for war purposes. This settled, we discussed particulars. Starting with an estimate of $300,000, we found, after a little reflection, that this was inadequate. Our figure rose to $500,000, to $700,000, and even this was not enough. By the time we reached Washington we had decided that we must ask the President for more than $900,000. The facts were assembled and an appointment made with President Wilson. I think that neither the Director nor myself will forget that interview, for we realized fully the importance of our success to the industrial and military life of the country. A brief formal request to the President for the allotment of the desired sum was written. The Director prepared statements showing the calls upon his service by the Army and Navy during the month of December, 1917.

When we presented these to the President in early January, 1918, they showed that demands for scientific work had come from the military services at the average rate of one every twenty minutes throughout the month of December. These sheets and my request were laid before the President. He asked a number of questions,

but for the most part sat quietly looking over the papers while we waited, full of the keenest impatience. At last he said, "I think this needs no further argument," and, taking his pen, wrote across the bottom of my letter, "Authorized and Approved," and signed it.

A great constructive service had been done. The importance of the structure and its equipment developed as the work went on. In the end it became necessary to obtain some $250,000 more.[1] To-day the great industrial laboratory stands there, a permanent source of help to the industries of the land and a witness of the wisdom of the President who authorized it.

It is interesting to recall how little was known at the time of the scientific equipment of the Government. At a meeting in Washington to promote the scientific work of the military services photographs were handed around, showing some fine buildings for research laboratories. As they passed from hand to hand, one of the most distinguished men present—a man who is popularly esteemed to be a scientific leader—said: "This is the kind of a laboratory Uncle Sam ought to have."

He was promptly told by another scientist that they were the very laboratories that Uncle Sam did have at the Bureau of Standards, a fact of which the first speaker had been ignorant. It is but fair to say that the gentleman thus enlightened has since taken a real interest in the work of this scientific service.

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1 *Cf.* Report Secretary of Commerce, 1919, p. 16.

I went over to the White House early one afternoon to transact some routine department business, and was surprised when the President was late at our appointment, for he was usually the soul of punctuality. He soon came in, visibly disturbed, and expressed his regret for the delay, saying that he had just left a conference with Mr. Bryan, who had resigned and insisted on leaving the Cabinet. The President had done his best to dissuade him, but fruitlessly, for Mr. Bryan felt that he could not conscientiously remain Secretary of State under conditions which might make him a responsible participant in war. He had found the decision between what seemed to him conflicting duties a very difficult one to make, and had walked the floor, literally, one whole night in the effort to choose the right course.

I have never been able to follow Mr. Bryan in economics or theology, and not always in politics, but personally he is a lovable man, sincere, loyal, and kindly. He has a wide knowledge of American political history, and he understands to a degree that is almost uncanny the way in which the average man thinks. It is this broad human sympathy that is the secret of Mr. Bryan's influence, added, of course, to his wonderful gift of speech. I have had to oppose him more than once, but always with sincere respect for his personal character and with gratitude for his friendship. It was, I believe, a mutual love for men as men and a keen sympathy for the "under dog" that united Mr. Wilson and Mr.

Bryan. In many ways very unlike, indeed with controlling differences of character and training, they had this bond of desire for human happiness and the purpose to contribute to it.

It was well that President Wilson had the saving grace of humour to illuminate what otherwise would have been at times a dark environment. He came into a cabinet meeting one day telling of the various stories that were told him about Mexico, no two of them quite alike, but this, he said, was, on the whole, helpful to him, because it allowed him to offset one liar against another and so to "cancel out" a large part of the untruth and get at the residuum of fact.

Among the minor mistakes that have been charged against Mr. Wilson is that of being so opinionated as to domineer over his associates. So far as my own experience goes, he sought earnestly and with much patience for facts, which he weighed long and well. His mind was open to truth from whatever source it came, but he did not always welcome the partial and personal views of truth that came from those whom he knew to be prejudiced or selfishly interested. He was often much better informed than those who sought to influence him, and had an outlook which took in whole phases of truth of which they did not seem to know.

There were many people, not all of them Americans, who could not believe that such a horrible act as the sinking of the *Lusitania* could be committed by the

authority of a government calling itself civilized. It is, however, no secret now that this heartless deed was deliberately planned long in advance. German officials knew their own plans, and some of them took the unusual course of attempting by advertising to warn passengers away from the fated ship. The world knows now of the exultant medals prepared in advance of the sinking.

The disaster was under discussion one evening in a cabinet meeting held in the upstairs study at the White House. Some doubt was expressed, by whom I do not recall, as to whether the sinking might not have been an act of criminal haste on the part of some zealous submarine commander. I was deeply stirred, as many of course were, by such cold-blooded sacrifice of innocent lives, unjustified by any laws of war or combatant rights. Therefore I insisted that the act was deliberate and asked the President if he did not know it to be so. He said that he did, and added, doubtless because of my own excitement, that we must not let our feelings control us in so serious a case. That did not satisfy me at the time, for my feelings were greatly aroused by the wanton murders.

Seven years have passed, and my abhorrence of the deed remains unaltered, but I can appreciate better now how the problem presented itself to the President. Apart from any uncertainties in the case, he knew that it would be wrong to have the Nation's course con-

trolled by quick anger or a hasty spirit of revenge, although he shared fully in the general horror. I cannot say that at that hour he foresaw our future part in the war, but I am sure he rightly felt that if we ever entered that or any other war it should not be in hot passion, but rather as a necessary and purposeful choice for righteousness' sake. Nevertheless, I always have rejoiced in the fact that one of the vessels of my own Department assisted actively in disabling the German submarine *U-39,* which sank the *Lusitania.*

President Wilson was not intolerant of conflicting opinion among his advisers. Mr. Page wrote to him what he himself called a "pretty harsh letter," using blunt phrases. The President rightly expected loyalty, but never, to my knowledge, disapproved independent thinking. He knew, for example, that on the subject of the Philippines my views were not his own nor those of most of my cabinet colleagues. There could be no concealment about it, for after my return from the Orient in the spring of 1911 I had not hesitated to oppose the legislation which my party favoured or to make addresses publicly criticizing it.

After the campaign of 1912 I sought an interview with Governor (then President-elect) Wilson, and saw him in his office at Trenton. I told him what my views concerning the Philippines were and why I held them, and that my opinions coincided with those of President Taft. Indeed, I had conferred while in Congress with

Mr. Taft, and found our outlook the same on that subject. I do not recall that at our interview Mr. Wilson expressed his own views except by asking questions; but later, of course, we both knew we differed. But he gave me a full and courteous hearing, and when he called me to his Cabinet it was with the facts before him. Of course, he would not offer, nor could I have accepted, a post wherein such varying views could affect executive action.

In personal relations with President Wilson I found him kindly, appreciative, and at times warmly affectionate. He remembered to write friendly birthday letters, some of which, too intimate for publication, I prize highly. After the election in 1916 he wrote to me:

> One of the best things about the result is that it means four more years of active association in public service and in that I genuinely rejoice.

A year later he wrote about a request that had been made of me:

> I am taking the liberty of writing to say that if you can do it I hope you will. I say if you can because I particularly do not want to over-burden you or any one of my associates; so I mean if you can without adding too much to the load.

Gravely burdened himself, he could yet think for others. It is hard to imagine one more appreciative of affection. "Such feelings," he wrote early in 1917, "on the part of

my colleagues constitute a support absolutely necessary to my spirits." This is a revealing utterance.

On one occasion a serious question had arisen about certain punitive action recommended by Governor-General Francis Burton Harrison, of the Philippines. The case was not wholly unlike the difference in point of view between Ambassador Page and President Wilson, though of far smaller scope and importance. Harrison urged condign punishment. The President thought this extreme and unnecessary, and cabled to Manila to that effect. Promptly the Governor-General cabled his resignation with his reasons. The despatch was read in the Cabinet, and I remember how thoughtfully and considerately the President treated the matter. He expressed his personal regard for and confidence in Mr. Harrison, and said in substance that the Governor-General was on the ground and knew the intimate relations of the case in a way in which it was impossible to grasp them in Washington. He deferred to the judgment of Governor-General Harrison and sent him a cordial despatch to that effect, which closed the incident.

President Wilson told the Cabinet one day of his interview with Mr. Roosevelt at the time when the latter sought to organize a volunteer division for the Army and lead it to France. In what he said there was nothing disparaging to Mr. Roosevelt. On the contrary, he expressed appreciation of Mr. Roosevelt's patriotic spirit of sacrifice and of his sincerity of purpose. He

made it plain that they differed in essentials but as gentlemen might, and he spoke no ungenerous word. The President explained to us that he had told Mr. Roosevelt that it seemed to him to be his duty to have the war conducted by professional soldiers and that he felt obligated therefore to follow the counsel of his professional military staff which did not admit of accepting the character of service tendered. The difference was one of principle and involved no personal dispute.

When we read that portion of the correspondence of our devoted Ambassador to Great Britain, the late Mr. Page, which has recently been published, with that sympathy which an understanding of his environment must bring, it is hard to comprehend that there was another side even of those matters which he so ably urged. But there was another phase which it was difficult for Mr. Page to see in just the light in which it appeared in Washington.

The Allied nations were struggling for their lives, but our own general opinion had not everywhere clearly reached the conviction at that time that our own life also was at stake. A good many thoughtful men resented what seemed to them unnecessary interference with neutral commercial rights and were in no mood to make proper allowances for the zeal inspired by danger. There were times when it seemed that peaceful rights—the privileges of neutral commerce everywhere, not

more our own than those of others—were being invaded, not perhaps of deliberate purpose, possibly of necessity, but none the less really. It was, to say the least, unpleasant to have neutral vessels carrying United States mails intercepted on the high seas and taken to a British port, to have our mail taken from them, to have the letters opened, censored, and at the best seriously delayed. On January 4, 1916, the Secretary of State cabled to Ambassador Page, instructing him to protest against the seizure by the British of neutral vessels carrying United States mail, and said:

> As result of British action strong feeling is being aroused in this country on account of loss of valuable letters, money orders, and drafts, and banks are refusing to cash American drafts in the absence of any security that the drafts will travel safely in the mails. Detention of consular and diplomatic mail is aggravating.

We alone of the neutral Powers were able to assert neutral rights in any effective way, and to some it seemed a clear duty to do so. This is not to say that either point of view was wrong, or even wholly right, but merely that there were considerations on each side which made the problem one that was not of easy or quick solution.

Furthermore, there is this thought to be suggested —that public opinion on so serious a matter as war is not always alike either in time or place. International

relations are often more visible, if not more real, on the two ocean coasts than in the interior, just as the vital internal problems of our country are impressed first and most strongly upon those who are most directly affected by them. This is, of course, no fault of purpose or patriotism, but arises from the very nature of things as they are. It is also important to remember that if we were to enter the last great struggle it was needful that we do so with all our power, not with a large part of it holding back. America had an experience in 1812–15 of a conflict in which an influential part of the country was in opposition. The consequence was not altogether happy, nor the experience one which it would be well to repeat, especially under far more menacing circumstances. My own sympathies throughout were with Mr. Page, but I could not avoid seeing that the other difficulties as they arose were of a serious nature. Mr. Page treated as of little importance a request made by my own Department that the British Home Office allow an essential witness whom the British authorities had detained as an alien enemy to come to this country to testify on behalf of our government in an important case.

The President felt that the war legislation as passed by Congress was of such a nature that it threw on him the duty of conducting the conflict by special organizations responsible to him rather than by enlarging the several regular departments—except, of course, the

military and financial ones. The consequence was the creation of controlling war bodies with executive powers, and in a measure the necessary temporary subordination to those of some of the ordinary branches of the Executive. There is no doubt that these bodies functioned with ability and enthusiasm, and in the end with success, but there is also no doubt in my mind that the principle was wrong and the precedent unfortunate.

One result of these separate war services was that much of the time some members of the Cabinet had little idea of what was going on unless they happened to come into touch or conflict with the activities of some one of the separate bodies. This was hardly a cause for personal complaint, for in those intense days there was more than enough for every one to do, and those who regarded silence as safety in those times could not easily err by indiscreet speaking about that which they did not know. More than one recent publication has made it clear that there was need at that time of the most careful reserve. Mr. Bryan spoke frankly in the Cabinet of leaks in the Department of State which he was unable to control, and there were other cases of the kind.

There is little doubt that as the war went on President Wilson drew more and more into himself. He felt that confidences on matters of grave importance were not always understood to be such or were in one or another way revealed, to the harm of the cause in

which the Nation was engaged. He learned by experience that it was safe to keep his own counsel closely. Such a course, however necessary, was certain to be misunderstood by some. Whether it was wise or unwise can be best determined by those who have borne equal responsibilities, if there are any.

On several occasions it was my duty to intervene on an appeal from an industry to save it from disastrous consequences threatened by the action of some independent service. Fuel was secured for one; wire for another; relief from oppressive burdens for a third. It was, of course, vital to win the war, but there were also times when it seemed almost equally important to have something left when it was over. Nor was it, in my judgment, impracticable to accomplish the same result as well at less cost and with less friction by developing the existing organizations rather than by creating new ones. The spirit of the special war services was admirable and unselfish, their patriotic zeal was beyond all praise (at times beyond wisdom), their personnel able and devoted, and in no small part practically unpaid. Their chiefs, being solely responsible to the President, placed on him a burden greater than any man should bear. Experience convinces me that it would be well to provide that, in cases of future war, the regular departments—any or all of them—should be so expanded as to be inclusive of necessary additional special services, which should be accountable

to the President through the constituted department heads.

The same is true in time of peace of the numerous independent services which now nominally "head up," as the phrase runs, directly to the President, which means in practice nothing or worse than nothing. There are many of these separate bodies which are left quite to themselves to work without any real executive supervision and have only a nominal relation to the President, but are, within certain limits, a law unto themselves so far as Congress permits. I have known the President to be embarrassed by the insistence of one of these bodies on its independence. It is not denied that these bodies do good work, nor that the men composing them are able and sincere. In naming some of them it is not intended in the least to select them for criticism, but merely to state what such bodies are. There are, for example, the Interstate Commerce Commission, the Federal Trade Commission, the Tariff Commission, the Civil Service Commission, the Shipping Board, the Government Printing Office, and others. None of these is organically related to any department. None is represented by any cabinet member at the national council board. Each is a separate, independent unit, not integrally related to the national organization. Most of them are supposed to report directly to the President, as if, quite apart from this, that overburdened officer had not already more than he should be re-

quired to carry. As a matter of fact, at least one President turned over communications from these bodies largely, if not wholly, to his secretary, and one suspects that others must do likewise, for their reports and correspondence are such that no President could himself handle them in detail. Each of these bodies should be definitely related to some department whose head should be its representative in the Cabinet. The President should be relieved of a nominal supervision which does not actually exist and which is so impossible as to be farcical.

In all that has been written on this subject I have spoken my own individual views, and those only. Nothing whatever has been inspired by any one. No former associate has been consulted, and I am alone responsible for what is said. Certainly nothing has been written that is meant to depreciate motive or character. There is a certain silly smartness shown at times in writing flippant stories which assume to know the inner purposes that motivate public men, none of whom are granted to be simply earnest and sincere, doing their work as well as they know how.

I remember a particular conversation, all too brief, with Mr. Elihu Root, one evening on a train returning from Washington. Telling him of some incident, now quite forgotten, in which some public work had gone awry because of distrust, he spoke with vigorous disapproval of what he called "government by suspicion."

There is a great deal of such government, and a great deal more of criticism that is the merest surmise based upon pure prejudice and wholly unrelated to knowledge. All the men with whom I had the privilege to associate in Washington for more than eight years were normal human beings, and therefore liable to err. Omniscience is not, to my understanding, found in any party, still less in any man. Of course, individuals here and there were found weak, some malicious, some even corrupt, but, on the whole, men did their work in a sincere purpose to serve, and their faults and failures were those common to humankind.

CHAPTER VI

THE WORK AND THE WORKERS

We used to say in the Department of Commerce that its work covered the heavens above, the earth beneath, and the waters under the earth. This was because it dealt with radio and with airplanes; it was charged to survey the land and safeguard travellers by sea and it was required to sound the ocean depths and to take under its care the inhabitants thereof. Its commercial services enveloped the globe. The Organic Act of February 14, 1903 (32 Stat. 825), creating the former Department of Commerce and Labour, says:

> It shall be the province and duty of said Department to foster, promote, and develop the foreign and domestic commerce, the mining, manufacturing, shipping, and fishery industries, the labour interests, and the transportation facilities of the United States.

So much of the foregoing as relates to labour interests was superseded by the later Act creating the Department of Labour.

It was a very young department on March 4, 1913;

indeed, as then organized it was a new-born babe. It had been created out of the old Department of Commerce and Labour by detaching several important services to compose the Department of Labour, leaving nine to comprise the new Department of Commerce. These were the Lighthouse Service, the Census, the Coast and Geodetic Survey, the Bureau of Corporations, the Steamboat Inspection Service, the Bureau of Navigation, the Bureau of Standards, the Bureau of Fisheries, and last but not least the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce. This last has since become the focus of the Department's constructive commercial energies. To these working services must be added the several divisions which comprise the "office of the Secretary" having to do with appointments (personnel), publications, expenditures, supplies, etc., and the important office of the Chief Clerk, who is the Secretary's right-hand man in operating details. One of the bureaus, that of Corporations, was soon given over to the Federal Trade Commission, leaving eight services to carry on the regular work of the new Department.

The various bureau offices were scattered about Washington in six separate places, some of them miles distant from the others. The present Commerce Building was not completed and the Department was more like a nominal grouping of unrelated parts than a unified working whole. Plans had been made, however, to lease a large new private building then under con-

struction. This building was made larger and in a short time five services and the Secretary's office were concentrated in it on the most economical rental basis in Washington. It was the only department housed in a modern office building intended solely for business use and without monumental features. It proved an efficient working instrument, although the continued separation of some of the services told against the most effective administration. The Bureau of Standards was, however, necessarily located outside of the city proper. The Fisheries occupied an old structure which was a fitting victim for a judicious fire, and the Coast and Geodetic Survey was placed but not accommodated in a group of ancient habitations near the Capitol which were and are a constant drag upon its progress. Land was bought long years ago for a government-owned commerce building but no steps have been taken toward construction. The policy of renting private buildings for conducting government work is indefensible on the ground of economy. It exists chiefly because Congress either does not understand the saving to be made from wise investment in public structures or fears its constituents will not do so. It is a part of that penuriousness existing in the midst of extravagance which is shown also in the failure to provide fitly for housing our representatives abroad and to construct a suitable building to contain our national archives.

Considered as the official means of developing our foreign commerce, the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce was in 1913 almost amusingly inadequate. Its annual appropriation for "promoting commerce" was sixty thousand dollars, a sum far less than many a retail store expends for its advertising. Its very title was misleading, for Congress had but recently cut off the appropriation for statistics of domestic trade and that work had lapsed. Save for the few travelling representatives who could be employed abroad with its limited funds it was dependent upon the consular service of the Department of State for the information on foreign trade matters which it gave to the country. It had no permanent observers under its own control. Obviously the service needed more means and more men and such reorganization as would fit it to actual business conditions if it was to justify its existence. A threefold change was required and was undertaken. The new force of commercial attachés was created, composed of men of commercial ability and experience, speaking the language of the country to which they were sent or a language current in commercial circles therein. Preference in selecting them was given to officers of the Consular Service and of the Department of Commerce who had unblemished records and had shown capacity in commercial promotion. They were accredited through the Department of State to our embassies and legations abroad and made their headquarters at or

near them, keeping in constant touch with the ambassador or minister. Each attaché was furnished with a clerk. The duty of the attachés was to study as a whole the commerce of the nation in which they resided and promote American trade there, supplementing but not supplanting the work of the consul, providing the general view of a nation's industry compared with the local or particular view, which was all the consul could properly be expected to give. The commercial attaché had no other duties; the consul had many others and sometimes conflicting ones. These were of such nature and extent that it was probably expecting too much of the average consul to ask that he regularly give half his time to purely commercial work. He was usually limited to a local field and was more or less obliged to keep office hours. It is surprising that under necessary limitations the consuls should do so much commercial work, of excellent quality, constantly improving in practical helpfulness. They gave invaluable details but with rare exceptions they could not take a national outlook or leave their posts to do research work in another part of the country in which they lived. The creation of the commercial attachés, so far from being a reflection upon the consuls, arose out of the very efficiency of the consular service, which showed the need of providing a central officer to correlate the consul's work. The course adopted is in general that which was followed by the nations that are our commercial rivals.

Naturally at the opening of a new service there was misunderstanding on the part of some consular and diplomatic officers, and naturally, also, some of our new attachés failed to show perfect wisdom and restraint, but with one or two exceptions there was admirable co-operation in the foreign field. Our ambassadors and ministers did not hesitate to write their appreciation of the value of these new commercial officers. Concurrently with a tenfold increase of the funds available for promoting commerce, these attachés were placed in ten of the world's leading centres and their fruitful service continues to this day.

It is impossible to state here in detail any considerable portion of the results the attachés have achieved. They form part of the great romance of commerce and have aided in the peaceful progress of many a major industry and many a humble home. The whole is written in the records of the Department of Commerce in Washington which few read and fewer study. Yet more than one industry can reckon by millions the sales resulting from the efforts of these men. At least one new industry came to the United States through the work of one of them. One country withdrew a tax that throttled a portion of our trade at the suggestion of another. Throughout the war their services were invaluable to the War Trade Board and the other special war-time organizations, and the present chief of the Bureau is a graduate commercial attaché. Those who

have left the service fill responsible posts in commercial and financial life.

While this was done the force of commercial agents or trade commissioners was largely increased. These are travelling representatives of the Department. They deal not with a port or a district or even a nation, but with a single economic subject which they investigate in one land after another, presenting in the final result a world view of it in its various phases. These men are practically trained in the specialty they study, and while in the field present written reports supplemented on their return by conferences with the commercial organizations chiefly interested in their inquiry. Such important industries as boots and shoes, textiles, canned goods, and many more have received the benefit of studies conducted all over the world by the trained experts of this force. They were often suggested to the Department by the trade associations and were selected after searching inquiry into character and fitness. No commercial attaché, trade commissioner, or commercial agent was a political appointee. Their personal political attitude was not asked, nor can I recall ever knowing the political views of one of them.

The third step in the reorganization of our commercial work was the opening of branch offices of the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce in New York, Boston, Chicago, St. Louis, Atlanta, New Orleans, San Francisco, and Seattle. Each of these

was put in charge of a trained commercial manager who maintained close relations with the commercial organizations throughout the district of which his city was the centre and with the commercial press therein. He had in stock publications of the service and brought to the local community the facilities that the head office had. A development out of this part of the work was the creation of "coöperating branches" in cities other than those where branch offices exist. The plan of coöperation provides that the local chamber of commerce shall establish a foreign trade bureau, in the hands of a man who shall devote his whole time to it; that the work so carried on shall be open to the inspection of the officers of the Department of Commerce and shall coöperate fully with the government service. Such coöperating branches were supplied with the information that the Department possessed, and they received and furnished information as fully as the regular branch offices. Under the auspices of the chamber of commerce in the respective cities these coöperative branches were opened in Cleveland, Cincinnati, Los Angeles, Detroit, Chattanooga, and Philadelphia. The work of some of the coöperating branches has not always been wholly satisfactory because of failure on the part of some local bodies to take the work seriously and give it continued attention. It has been difficult at times to find competent managers for the branch offices at the salaries the service is able to pay. As a whole, however, the branch

offices have been successful, and their work as well as that of the coöperating branches is quite within the control of the Bureau and can be adjusted as circumstances may warrant. As reorganized and as further developed by my successor with enlarged funds, this great commercial service is a powerful factor in America's foreign trade and has won outspoken praise and the flattery of imitation from the governments of competing countries.

The working force of the department varied with the seasons suitable for outdoor activities, but was 9,000 persons at the minimum and rose to 14,000 on occasions when much field work was in progress. They were in groups scattered all over the world, from surveying crews among the Sulu Islands near Borneo to fur wardens above the Arctic Circle, from the clerks housed in Washington to the travelling agents in China, South America, Australia, or Siberia. Some served in lonely places as on Mt. Desert Rock, twenty-five miles off the Maine coast; on Tillamook Rock, off Oregon; at Spectacle Reef, isolated in the northern waters of Lake Huron; or at Cape St. Elias, on the solitary coast of Alaska. Little less separated though with more human society were the crews of the lightships along our coasts. Preference was given in the way of leave to the men who occupied these lonely stations, and when the holiday season came around a message of appreciation and good will was sent to them, often by wireless or cable, to assure them that their faithful service was remem-

bered. Taken as a whole their work was admirably done. Cases of necessary punitive discipline were rare. The entire body of employees would compare favourably in character and in quality of service with any equal number of men and women in corporate employ.

The belief in influence, indeed, was strongly intrenched among the clerical force, particularly among those of older years, and it showed at times in acts that had to be restrained. Sometimes attempts were made to play politics in making clerical promotions. A chief would recommend the advance of a certain clerk who happened to be from his own district or from the district of some Congressman or Senator whom the chief was for some reason desirous of pleasing. Again the chief had a personal liking for a certain clerk and wished to give that clerk the promotion which by reason of length of service and quality of work should go to some other member of the force. A clerk may have displeased the chief in some way and in such cases the chief occasionally let his personal feelings guide his decision in recommending the promotion. Such acts, however, are the commonplaces of industry and commerce; every executive has to deal with them.

So much that is flippant as well as false is said or written, however, about the quality of government employees, that it is right to note here that the lawful allowances for annual leave and for sick leave were rarely abused in our Department. Taken as a whole,

the right of annual leave was not exercised to the full permissible extent, and sick leave was kept within moderate limits. The details of both were published in each annual report. In some departments, not to a troublesome extent in Commerce, there were old men and women retaining clerkships long after they had become unable to give reasonable service. Some of these held their posts by virtue of veteran laws. For the rest they were the normal result of the lack of a retirement system. The law of 1918 that provided retirement for the field force of the Lighthouse Service was the first civil retirement legislation under the United States Government. It was not, however, one of these ancients whose rambling thoughts led her to send to my desk for signature a statement on the high cost of loving (*sic*). That subject is indeed one which at the proper time and place demands serious thought, but it is not yet within the scope of a government department. Many women were employed in the clerical force, particularly in the Bureau of the Census. That was the service in which, partly by inheritance from the time of its organization before the Department of Commerce existed, political influence was most strongly felt. It would hardly be fair to ascribe this wholly or even chiefly to the fact that a majority of the staff were women. Rather was it true that the clerical force was much larger in that service than elsewhere, and there was a correspondingly greater opportunity in it for

hunting spoils. The opportunity was not overlooked by a minority within the Bureau nor by their partisan sponsors without.

The great artist Whistler was at one time a draughtsman in the Coast and Geodetic Survey and was a flat failure at his work. Drawing that was almost wholly mechanical made no appeal to him. Leaving it aside, he would seize a pad or any available scrap of paper and make thereon sketches which pleased him more than the dull routine of toil. His desk mate was a son of Francis Scott Key, and Mr. Key tells of gathering up frequently from desk and floor the odd sheets which Whistler had covered with sketches and cramming them into the wastebaskets to be destroyed. He felt after Whistler's great talent had found its normal expression and his reputation had become international that he had probably thus thrown away not merely one but several fortunes. Whistler at last had to be separated from the service because he would not do the right kind of drawing.

In preparing the estimates for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1920, that were considered by Congress in early March of 1919, an item of $69,000 was inserted —"for development of trade through motion pictures."[1] This idea, as was then stated, was borrowed from Canadian practice. Nearly a year before, when in the

[1]Hearings before Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, House of Representatives, 65th Congress, 3d Session on R. Res. 571, March 1, 1919; also report of Secretary of Commerce, 1919, p 21.

city of Ottawa at the invitation of the Canadian Government, I happened, as before stated, to be a visitor at a session of the Canadian House of Commons. The estimates of the Canadian Department of Trade and Commerce were being considered, and to my surprise the minister in charge of that Department, Sir George Foster, presented for an approval an appropriation which I recall as $100,000—for use in moving-picture propaganda of Canadian agriculture, industry, and commerce in other lands. In the discussion of the matter the opposition asked a few questions, but there was no antagonism to the appropriation and it went through. My own application later in 1918 for a smaller appropriation was rejected. Certain ladies, including Mrs. Champ Clark, became thereafter interested in the subject and asked the Department to use motion pictures. It was necessary to tell them that no funds existed for the work and that in this respect we were behind other governments. As far back as 1913 motion pictures had been used in Great Britain for advancing commerce and industry, and the Government of South Africa had announced its intention to use the "movies" to make known the resources of the Union. The question was discussed in detail before a Committee of Congress in 1919 and 1920, but no appropriation was made, and the Department could not avail itself of an important aid in selling our products which our rivals used in competition with us. Several bureaus in our

own and other departments had separate films showing their work, and these always aroused the enthusiasm of citizens where they were shown, but no organized effort to use this means of imparting information as part of our commercial work was permitted by Congress.

The Department had its own herd (if herd is the correct term) of blue foxes on the Pribilof Islands—the seal islands—and drew a considerable return annually for the Treasury from the sale of fox skins. Other small islands were leased to private parties and they were supplied with brood foxes. The business has steadily grown. A recent report states that in all Alaska, but principally on the islands, there are now more than 3,500 fox farms in operation, each with from five to fifty pairs of foxes. The present investment is said to be approximately two million dollars.

An interesting example of the varied work done by a government department is found in the design in 1916 of a railroad car for carrying living fish long distances. The car is of steel, within and without, and is insulated against heat and cold. It is 60 feet long and 10 feet wide. It weighs with equipment 150,000 pounds, and carries a load of 35,000 pounds, including water, fuel, ice, and supplies, when engaged in distributing fish for stocking inland waters. In the centre of the car, running lengthwise on each side, are insulated tanks with a total capacity for 130 ten-gallon cans in which the fish are held. During transportation the fish are furnished

with oxygen and fresh water by air and water pumps, operated by a six-horsepower steam boiler, which also heats the car. In addition to this independent heating unit the usual train attachment for heating from the locomotive is provided. Tanks for reserve water supply are located beneath the car, and also an ice box of one-ton capacity. The car is fitted with living accommodations for a crew of five men, a cook's galley, an office, and space for a dining table.

Fish are distributed by the Bureau of Fisheries in every state of the Union, some 10,000 individual applications being filled annually, in addition to the public plants of the so-called commercial species in the Great Lakes and coastal streams of the seaboards.

In the spring of 1916 a million copies of the following circular were sent out all over the country:

Please post in a conspicuous place

DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE

WASHINGTON, D. C.

SHORTAGE OF PAPER MATERIAL

Save Your Waste Paper and Rags

The attention of the Department of Commerce is called, by the president of a large paper manufacturing company, to the fact that there is a serious shortage of raw material for the manufacture of paper, including rags and old papers. He urges that the Department should make it known that the collecting and saving of rags and old papers would greatly better existing conditions for American manufacturers.

Something like 15,000 tons of different kinds of paper and

paper board are manufactured every day in the United States and a large proportion of this, after it has served its purpose, could be used over again in some class of paper. A large part of it, however, is either burned or otherwise wasted. This, of course, has to be replaced by new materials. In the early history of the paper industry publicity was given to the importance of saving rags. It is of scarcely less importance now. The Department of Commerce is glad to bring this matter to the attention of the public in the hope that practical results may flow from it. A little attention to the saving of rags and old papers will mean genuine relief to our paper industry and a diminishing drain upon our sources of supply for new materials.

A list of dealers in paper stocks can be obtained from the local Chamber of Commerce or Board of Trade.

WILLIAM C. REDFIELD, *Secretary.*

Letters were sent to every commercial organization in the land enclosing this circular and asking their cooperation. It soon became clear that the country was not organized for this kind of thrift, for many letters were received stating that the writers would be glad to save and asking how it should be done. A pamphlet was, therefore, issued in large quantities in collaboration with the Department of Agriculture on May 10, 1916, entitled: "Saving of Waste Paper Material" which told, with illustrations, "how to select, assort, and dispose of waste paper, rags, and other paper-making material." It gave instructions for grading and handling the saved material and described the apparatus necessary to prepare it for shipment.

At the time this campaign began the Department was informed that out of the daily production of 15,000 tons of paper only 5,000 tons found its way back to the mills as paper stock. When the campaign ended it was learned that about half the waste had stopped—that a further saving of approximately 5,000 tons daily had been made. One statement put it at 6,000 tons, but there are no exact figures available. The minimum value of the stock thus saved was twenty dollars per ton. The same authority whose suggestion started the work says that the value would vary from twenty to fifty dollars a ton. Taking the saving at the lesser amount (5,000 tons) and the lowest value ($20 a ton) there appears a saving of $100,000 per working day, or about $30,000,000 a year. It is interesting to reflect that such an amount is more than double the entire annual cost of the Department of Commerce at that time, and that even if the quantity saved were only half that which it was said to be, the saving would be still sufficient to pay the whole cost of the Department. Certain it is that a large saving has continued to this date and has become an established feature of our economic life. That campaign which at the time was received with some ridicule was the beginning of modern methods of salvaging on a large scale a valuable material long wasted in great quantities.

The school children of Washington took an active part in the effort to save wasted paper stock, and the

results were surprising. Funds were needed to purchase apparatus for playgrounds and for other school purposes for which there was no appropriation. The Washington *Star* suggested that the children bring to school daily the newspapers of the previous day or such others as had accumulated at their homes. The Superintendent of Schools heartily approved the idea and the young people took it up with enthusiasm. Arrangements were made with a dealer in paper stock to call weekly at the schoolhouses and sell the old papers at the market price. The work began in October, 1917, and all through the following winter the children on their way to school could be seen carrying newspapers under their arms. By the following April the boys and girls had earned more than $5,400, all derived from the saving and sale of old newspapers. Half of this was appropriated for the needed playground apparatus, and the balance was assigned to the different schools in proportion as their efforts contributed to raising the fund. The direct results were thus very satisfactory, but a greater one lay in the lesson of thrift that teachers, scholars, and some of the general public learned from this interesting experiment.

It may be well here to add a few words spoken to a gathering of the officers and employees of the Department at a meeting during the Christmas season of 1915:

> Get with me if you will the picture of what this Department means. Forget for the instant the individual services and the

local offices; look out into the large world and see where our work is done, in the Far East, in Australia, in the frozen seas of the Arctic, in the isolated places along our coasts, where men in loneliness do splendid service and where there is no one to applaud them. It takes character and strength to work alone and to do well what no man can publish. Yet it is being done. Along our shores, in many an isolated lightship, in many a lonely lighthouse, in many a field party there is good and honourable and soldierly and loyal service rendered to our country.

So there has come to me, and I hope to you, a large vision. I like to think of the lighthouse being built between Cuba and Haiti on a lonely rock. I like to think of the other great one being built on the coast of Alaska. I like to think of the watchful care of our steamers around the islands of Hawaii. I like to think of the men searching into the technical processes of textile trades in China. I rejoice to know that an order for two great cotton mills' entire equipment of machinery was brought to America through the work of one of our men in the Far East. I like to think that in the lands of Europe our officers are consulted and are honoured by our diplomatic service. I like to know of the helpfulness and the sweep, the extent of the good we are doing in the world, and whether men at large praise or blame is a little thing so long as there is in your hearts and mine the desire to serve and the satisfaction of knowing that in some small degree we have been able to work that desire into fact.

CHAPTER VII

DEPARTMENTAL LIFE

EARLY in my term as Commissioner of Public Works in Brooklyn under the Low administration, I expressed to Mr. Rives, the Corporation Counsel, my intention of conducting my office upon a business basis.

"Forget it," said Mr. Rives. "It can't be done."

This surprising advice from the city's chief law officer brought forth the natural question.

"Because of the d—— statutes," he replied.

Long afterward a prominent member of the House of Representatives said to that body in substance that they had taken such steps to keep officials from doing wrong as to prevent their doing much that was right.

On assuming a Cabinet post one faces a maze of statutes, new and old and constantly changing. Two official safeguards are provided for procedure under these. One is the Solicitor of the Department, who is a law officer of the Department of Justice assigned to act as legal adviser—a sort of personal pilot amid the confused channels of law. The other is the Comptroller of the Treasury, who, powerful and all but invisible,

says what you may lawfully spend and how. He is the official interpreter of financial laws—an active protector of the public purse. Sooner or later these two guardians are pretty certain to differ in the interpretation of some law.

The laws themselves with which one has to deal are amazingly inconsistent and sometimes absurdly detailed. Let no one imagine that work proceeds under general statutes allowing freedom within their scope. Many acts normal to ordinary business are forbidden. Such matters as the number of scrubwomen and their individual wages are specified by Congress in appropriation acts. Fewer may be employed, but not more, and no one of them may be paid even twenty-five cents a day over the statutory rate. Only occasionally were "lump sum" appropriations made giving discretion in details within certain limits.

Congress sometimes illustrated its ignorance of the departments by removing some fault with a club which smashed a lot of useful work. Long ago an official committed the serious error of charging to the Government his expenses for a trip to attend some convention. When this came to light, the House enacted a provision that broadly forbade paying from any appropriation "the expenses of attendance of any person at any meeting or convention of members of any society or association unless expressly authorized by law." On its face this seems reasonable, but the actual result has been to

nullify much valuable scientific and commercial work for which the public has paid by making it impossible to place it adequately before those who are able to use it. The Bureau of Standards asked and obtained permission for its officers to go, at public expense, to gatherings of those in whose behalf the Bureau was working, but a like permission was refused to the Bureau of Fisheries, to the Coast and Geodetic Survey, and to the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce. The former has valuable information about fish foods, their culture and their products. The Coast and Geodetic Survey has information of immense importance to commercial and scientific bodies. The work of the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce is of value to every business body in the land. None of these three services was permitted to send its officers at public cost for the purpose of placing before interested organizations the results of government work done in their behalf. Thus there were in practice two opposing rules of law on the same subject in the same department. It was not easy to understand why one important service should thus have had a privilege forbidden to three others, but such was the case. "It is absurd," says my report for 1916, "that an officer of the United States, having gathered at public cost valuable information for the benefit of manufacturers all over the land, should not be permitted to lay those facts before a convention of such manufacturers except at his

own personal expense or when some other reason for his presence can be contrived."

An earlier report said: "It surely was not the intention that the law should prohibit the commercial representatives of the country from making known directly to business organizations the information which they had travelled far and laboured hard to get. Yet this is the effect of the restrictions embodied in the law." To remedy a minor evil a worse one was created.

Within a service also there were sometimes queer inconsistencies of law. Thus the Bureau of Fisheries had a fleet of eight ships which were operated under three different statutory provisions. Five ran under specific appropriations, providing the number of persons to be employed on each vessel and the pay of each person. One worked under a "lump sum" appropriation, leaving the number of men to be employed and their pay at discretion within the total sum allowed. Two ships were manned by naval officers and crews supplied by the Navy Department, with a small civilian staff from the Fisheries Service. There was no reason for these differences, but repeated attempts to get Congress to harmonize them were unsuccessful.

It is very common to have requests made to a department, by parties who ought to know better, that the operations of law which they happen to disapprove be suspended. Such requests have come from business men and corporations and indeed from members of

Congress itself. The fact that an executive officer charged with the enforcement of law has no such discretion seems never to enter the minds of these persons. For some reason they find the law disagreeable and they ask to have it suspended, quite ignoring the fact that they are requesting a violation of the oath which the officer took when he assumed his duties. In fact, nothing is more evident in the administration of a government department than the widespread public ignorance of the ordinary facts of the law. The very structure of the Government itself is unknown to many, and in entire good faith and innocence requests are made of executives which if granted would land them in jail.

The bureaucrat is a product of the law—not in terms, indeed, but in reality. He works within the web of statutes. Congress sits outside on its hill eager to detect any departure from the precise rules it has laid down. The only possible course a subordinate may take with safety is to follow laws in their strict literal meaning. Only the head of the department, guided by his legal advisers, may interpret them. For example, the law provided for the appointment of "special agents" in the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce. They had always been men. Occasion arose to appoint a qualified woman. The bureau demurred because the law did not specify women, and it was necessary for the Secretary to rule that when sex was not mentioned either men or women might be selected.

Recently a young man who was born in Algiers was held at Ellis Island as an African. At the time of his birth his French parents were temporarily in Algeria, where his father represented a French insurance company. When one year old, the son was taken to Paris and lived there twenty-six years, till he came to America. He carried an official certificate of French citizenship, but our statute makes the place of birth the test of nationality, and the African quota was full. The local immigration authorities could not exercise final discretion, and had to parole him for inquiry. When the case came before the Department in Washington, where the intent of the law could be considered, it was soon decided to admit the young Frenchman and include him in the quota of France.

It is often said as if it were the sum of political wisdom that this is a "government of laws and not of men." Verily this is true, and we carry it to the extreme. Laws and laws and yet more laws are passed till brains and hands are enveloped in meshes that destroy initiative and force intelligent men to work as automatons. We have made a weakness out of a virtue. Statute is piled upon statute, often ignoring existing laws and organizations, until energy is paralyzed and, in the words of my successor, "there is inevitable overlap, duplication, and lack of concentration of purpose."

An experience with the Civil Service Commission will illustrate what has been said about literal compli-

ance with law. It also shows the force of the old saying, "The letter killeth, but the spirit maketh alive." A young fellow who had finished high school and wished to study in a higher institution needed temporary employment. He applied for permission to take a Civil Service examination, and in his application so stated the time of his birth as to make his age eighteen —the minimum age fixed by law. Six months later the Civil Service Commission discovered that at the time of his application he had been but seventeen years, eleven months, and seven days of age instead of eighteen, as he had stated. At the time of his actual examination he was just seventeen days short of full eighteen years. They charged him, on this account, with deliberately breaking the law, and because of this error demanded that I dismiss him from a temporary post he held in the Department of Commerce, stating also that they would bar him in the future from all positions under the Civil Service Law. No allowance was made for the fact that his statement had been made in a zeal for employment for a laudable purpose and that his service had been satisfactory. I protested vigorously against what was, in my judgment, not only a narrow interpretation of the law, but a stigma on the character of a young fellow at the outset of his career. I refused to dismiss him. He later served in the Navy during the war, and after two years the Civil Service Commission withdrew its bar.

Consider what would be the position of the industrial manager who was forced to give much of his time to maintaining the existence of his organization in the face of frequent efforts to alter it by men who understood neither its operation nor its make-up. It is so with a government executive. It is his duty to run his department efficiently, yet he must frequently struggle and at times struggle hard to keep in existence the organism which he is supposed to make effective.

Many whose zeal for the public service is not according to knowledge are ready to spring at a proposal which on its surface seems to promise improvement, without thinking that it may mean the disruption of important current work, may throw the shadow of uncertainty over the operations of a great service and take away the esprit de corps which is one of its finest assets. Proposals to make changes in the organization come often from well-meaning citizens who usually make them without consulting the head of the department or of the service which it is proposed to alter, and who lack even primary information on the subject upon which they express positive opinions. It frequently happens that at a time when one is striving to perfect a certain work a bill is introduced proposing to do away with it or alter it, or transfer it to the jurisdiction of another service. Ordinarily these propositions come to naught, but they cause a sad waste of time.

There once was laid before me a project which an

officer of another department had sent to the chairman of an important congressional committee, proposing to remove an important service from the Department of Commerce. The author of the suggestion did not consult either the Secretary of Commerce or the chief of the service in question. His letter showed that he did not comprehend the situation. Yet two busy executive officers had to lay aside their work for a time and devote themselves to preventing a change which would have been destructive to their organization because a well-intentioned gentleman acted on a subject outside his official jurisdiction without knowing the facts.

The head of a government department, if he knows his Old Testament, must sometimes recall how the men under Nehemiah rebuilt the wall of Jerusalem with a sword in one hand and a trowel in the other, for hardly a session of Congress passes without an effort to alter the structure of some department. Sometimes this is normal evolution, a readjustment to constantly expanding work, but it is not always so. Occasionally, as above, some official desires to take over some work and feels free to ask Congress to transfer it, or some Senator or Congressman in pique or fancied knowledge suggests a change in the department's structure. One must then be prepared to wrestle for existence as well as to do good service. The mail brings a copy of the pending bill, prepared without your knowledge, which

alters some of your work, and you are asked to report thereon. Then commences a more or less serious struggle which may last for weeks.

Frequent efforts were made to transfer the Commercial Attaché Service to the State Department. The Bureau of Corporations was turned over to the Federal Trade Commission; the force of the Cost of Production Division went to the Tariff Commission and was disbanded. An effort was made to transfer the Division of Vital Statistics of the Census Bureau to a new Department of Health, and it was suggested that the Bureau of Navigation and the Steamboat Inspection Service should be turned over to the Shipping Board, and time and again efforts were made to detach other agencies. One was never sure of ending the year with the organization with which it was begun. Growth is evidence of life, and one must not complain of the changes it brings, nor be troubled about what may be growing pains. As this is written a measure is pending that proposes many shifts in government services. When thoughtfully done for the best interest of government business and not for the satisfaction of one man or department, the process works out well. It is, nevertheless, difficult to administer a shifting organization effectively, and the Department of Commerce suffered seriously from partial disintegration as described, by the assumption of important commercial work by other services and by the creation during the war of

independent bodies to do the kind of work for which the Department of Commerce was intended.

Do you ask just what government departments are? I reply that they are in details unlike, but in general they are great business establishments running factories, buying goods, distributing products, employing workmen of many kinds, engaged in building, navigating, travelling, research, publication, farming, instruction, and in almost every kind of productive activity. Specifically, the Department of Commerce ran several machine shops (three in Washington), woodworking shops, a brassworking shop, a glass works, a foundry, a pottery, two instrument-making shops, and carried on many other industrial and business enterprises.

Now let us state it differently. A government department is also a great business which cannot be run all the time or in all its parts on a business basis, because it is under the control of a Board of Directors who do not understand the details of the business and who lack confidence in the management. Therefore this business—it is, by the way, your business, you who read this—has about it curious paradoxes. Its directors do not look at it as a whole and provide for its efficient working as one great organization. On the contrary, they look at it in small details and arrange for these frequently in ways opposed to the welfare of the whole and to the judgment and request of the managers. In 1916, Congress required the Secretary of Commerce to give

the Federal Trade Commission "whatever space they required" in the Commerce Building. This was done over the protest of both the Federal Trade Commission and the Department of Commerce and without consulting any officer of either body. No effort was made to learn whether the space was available. It was not, and grave inconvenience resulted. The facts became known to the Public Health Service, which commented adversely on the overcrowding and inadequate ventilation.[1] Oftentimes there are abundant means for some work and insufficient for another—plenty here for this and penury there for that. One task, therefore, is done well, the other is ill done or not at all. Hence the curious phenomenon, discussed elsewhere, of actual refunds to the Treasury of unused moneys for some parts of the work while others are calling in vain for sufficient funds. One may be able to build a ship, but lack means to pay for cleaning floors.

Let us follow the Secretary of Commerce through a day's work. Before he reaches his office the heavy morning mail has been distributed to eight bureaus and to the several divisions which compose the Secretary's office. Some has gone to the Assistant Secretary, and only such as requires the Secretary's personal care is placed on his desk. Among the letters is one from the White House enclosing a bill just passed by Congress, that affects the work of the department. The letter

[1] H. R. 21318, 63d Congress. House Doc. 1079, 64th Congress, 1st Session.

asks if the Secretary knows any reason why the President should not sign it. A check for perhaps $500,000 comes from the contractor who finishes and sells the government sealskins, this amount covering only a part of the season's catch. With it is another check perhaps for $30,000—the proceeds of the sale of skins taken from the national herd of foxes. The department's pay roll is presented for signature. Congress sends a resolution calling for information or asks appearance before a committee. There are requests for business conferences, various reports and letters from the eight bureaus of the department, many requests for information and assistance, a share of complaints—the usual business mail. It *is* business mail; there is little that is political about it.

The Solicitor enters, visibly disturbed, with the *Congressional Record* in his hand. Senator X or Representative Y has made some imaginative remarks about the work of the department or has introduced a bill changing its structure. Perhaps a measure favoured by the department is delayed or opposed. An act has been passed requiring certain work for which there is no appropriation. The Solicitor asks if he should go to the Capitol and try to straighten matters. "Do so and report."

The Director of the Bureau of Standards telephones that the American Society of Automotive Engineers (or some other scientific body) is to meet there next

day. "Will the Secretary come out and say a few words of welcome and also look over the plans for equipping the new laboratory?"

The Commissioner of Lighthouses enters with his naval architect to submit drawings of a new seagoing tender for the Pacific Coast. He remains to say that the light station on Navassa Island, West Indies, is completed after serious difficulties arising from isolation and the lack of fresh water. He shows the schedule for new aids to navigation in Alaskan waters for the present year, and expresses concern about the inadequate depot near Hampton Roads. He urges particularly that steps be taken to secure from Congress adequate pay for the district inspectors. Perhaps he leaves a copy of the *Lighthouse Service Bulletin* containing such items as the following: "The keeper of Cape Ann Light Station, Massachusetts, reports: 'At 9 P.M., December 31, a large flock of geese bound south hit the north tower, killing five. Three broke through the glass in the tower, breaking two window panes and clipping the prisms of the lens very badly on the northeast side.' " (Bad for the tower, but good for the keeper's table.)

Another keeper—this time at Calcasieu Range Light, coast of Louisiana—writes: "For the last three nights the station has been so overrun with various species of bugs and insects that it has been impossible, even with constant care, to keep a good light. They settle on the

lantern glass so thickly that it is doubtful if the light is visible three miles distant."

The disbursing clerk comes in hastily to say that the House Appropriations Committee has reported a "cut" that will involve discharging part of the force of an important division; also that another appropriation will be useless in its proposed form, since it provides only for the field service and prohibits employment of the necessary help in Washington. He is told to communicate the facts to the clerk of the committee and to arrange, if possible, for a hearing.

The Commissioner of Fisheries calls to ask an interview. He is concerned about the numerous shad nets in Chesapeake Bay, which block the way into the Potomac River, on which our hatchery is located at Bryan's Point. Not even a super-shad could find the way through the labyrinth. So we arrange to go on the *Fishhawk* to investigate at an early date. And this recalls pleasant incidents in connection with the shad hatchery at Bryan's Point, a busy place in spring, from which many millions of shad are planted annually in the Potomac River. Incidental to the process was the capture of many fine fresh shad. Thither in the season parties of Congressmen were several times conveyed in the little steamer that connected the hatchery with Washington. The coloured cook was an artist in preparing planked shad. A great fire was built in the open and the shad were placed before it, fastened to

the planks, with pieces of salt pork judiciously distributed upon them. Meanwhile, in the kitchen, corn bread and other accompaniments were being prepared, and when the Congressmen were seated at the table they waited not for points of order.

It was delightful to see the speed with which those shad made their way into congressional interiors. The story went and is not here denied that one Congressman ate a whole large shad and a half.

But the day is not yet half gone. The Commissioner of Navigation replies to an inquiry that the reduced fines imposed for breaches of the navigation laws more than pay the purchase price of the small vessels used and the cost of their operation. His office sends down a number of radio licenses for signature and he writes with approval of the radio school operated in Boston by one of his inspectors. His Deputy Commissioner calls to ask the appointment of delegates to the Conference on Safety of Life at Sea, soon to be held in London.

Here comes a surprise—the owner of the motor vessel *Kilkenny,* purchased to aid in enforcing the navigation laws, returns the check for $8,500 sent to pay for the boat, and presents her to the Government.

The Chief of the Steamboat Inspection Service enters to present a supervising inspector from the Mississippi Valley—one of the group assembled for the annual conference. He says that on a recent inspection of a vessel in regular service carrying three hundred

passengers the boiler was found to have an inside crack extending seven feet around its head and reaching from the inner surface to within a hair's breadth of the outer skin. The mere fraction of sound metal that remained was all that kept the boiler from blowing up under the steam pressure of one hundred and ninety pounds which was used. The boiler was but five years old. He brings with him a murderer in the shape of a fusible plug that failed to fuse and thus caused an explosion which killed fifteen persons. The plug ought to have melted when the water got so low in the steamship boiler that the crown sheet was exposed. Had its duty been done, the fire would have been extinguished. The man who made that supposedly fusible plug had poured it full of slag instead of soft metal; the slag would not melt, and so fifteen lives were lost.

A number of callers who are waiting in the anteroom must be received, although it is almost time for lunch. Here is one of them with a strange question. He is the head of the largest concern of its kind in the land, and asks: "Mr. Secretary, why is a business man not believed in Washington?" Elsewhere, he says, his word is accepted as a matter of course, but in the national capital he meets polite incredulity. He is told, *inter alia,* that suspicion in Washington often usurps the place of wisdom, and that it is unfortunately too true that some business men come here with minds singularly devoted to their own interests and not over-concerned

with the public welfare. Confidence is withheld from some who deserve it because there are others who do not.

When the Secretary returns from lunch, a note awaits him saying that the Director of the Census wishes him to see the new integrating counter which is ready on the fourth floor. This gives an opportunity to exhibit to the Representative who accompanies him the counter, which has been developing for months under a special appropriation. It is planned to be ready for work on the census of 1920. After examining it he takes the Representative to the census machine shop, on the second floor, that he may see in operation the very wonderful tabulating machinery which the Bureau of the Census designs and builds for its own use.

Back to the office on the seventh floor to receive a telephone message from Foreign and Domestic Commerce, saying the commercial attaché at Shanghai cables that with his aid an American maker of textile machinery has secured an order for $2,000,000 worth of cotton-mill equipment. A less happy announcement is that the commercial attaché to Buenos Aires, en route down the west coast of South America, has been shipwrecked. He fortunately escaped unhurt, but with the loss of his personal baggage.

An inquiry goes to the Coast and Geodetic Survey about the progress of wire drag work. They reply that a rock has been found by the drag off Boston, near where the battleship *Wyoming* recently lay, that had

eight feet less water over it than the ship draws. They also tell of a pinnacle rock in an Alaskan channel rising from the bottom in six hundred feet of water to within eighteen feet of the surface—a sharp-pointed spine, higher than the Washington Monument and little larger, waiting to tear the bottom of a vessel. Fortunately, unlike others, this one was found before it did such deadly work. More callers by appointment. Then the Secretary's confidential clerk comes in with a pile of papers from all the services which require signature; with them is the outgoing mail.

There is but time before the day closes for a conference about the laboratory at Fairport, Iowa, recently destroyed by fire. Here we inoculate fish with germs to maintain the pearl-button industry. In the early 'eighties there came to the United States a peasant from Hanover who had been a button-maker. He drifted out to Muscatine, Iowa, and one day when walking along the shores of the Mississippi River he picked up some mussel shells and was struck with the beauty of their nacre, or pearly interior. Realizing their value, he began a small button factory. The business grew until to-day the industry employs thousands of persons, practically supports a number of small cities in the Mississippi Valley, and produces an output of buttons valued at eight or ten million dollars annually.

The result, however, was to deplete the teeming mussel beds of the Mississippi and its tributaries, and the

industry called on the Bureau of Fisheries to save its source of raw material from extinction. It was already known that these mussels had a peculiar life history. At a certain stage of development the young mussels are expelled from the shell of the mother. They are of microscopic size, and have minute shells which are furnished with hooks or teeth on the edge. If these tiny mussels are left to themselves, they die. If, however, one of them touches a fish of the right kind, it grips the tissue of the fish's gill or fin with the hooks and "digs in" or rather the flesh of the fish swells and encloses the mussel which lives as a parasite, receiving sustenance from its host. After a time the tissue in which the mussel is enclosed ruptures, and out drops a small but complete mussel.

Investigations of the Bureau of Fisheries showed that, not only are the mussels parasites on the fish, but that each species of mussel is a parasite on one species of fish, or a limited group of related fishes, and that it can survive on no others. The Bureau obtained mussels, dissected out the embryos, placed them in a tub of water, and introduced the appropriate fish. Immediately the little mussels took hold of the fish in great numbers, and the latter were then liberated in the streams to carry the mussels for the required time and then automatically drop them to take up their independent career.

Operations of this kind are carried on at Fairport on

an extensive scale, and three or four hundred million mussels are planted annually in the rivers of the Mississippi Valley. On this work the continuance of our pearl-button industry depends.

The conference ends the day, but the actual incidents given afford only a glimpse of the work that lies behind them. Do you think, my reader, that accounts of congressional debates and administration policies inform you fully about your government? Does it seem to you that much of it is rather dreary, without vivid human interest or strong personal appeal? You get but a small part; most of the living story is untold. You have not heard of the battle with the sea involved in the building of the lighthouse on Tillamook Rock or of the rescue of the crew of the lost *Tahoma*. The fine officer who led that search through dangerous uncharted seas went down with the *Lusitania*. You have not been told of the correspondent who wanted goldfish, "the solid gold variety, not the imitation kind," nor have you studied with the travelling schoolteacher or feasted at the hands of the travelling cook. There are enterprise and adventure here and heroic sacrifice of which the world knows little, and there is realism of the finer sort that would make the teller of pessimistic tales ashamed.

Do you seek life in the great out-of-doors, contact with the wild? Spend a few weeks with a field party of the Coast Survey or go with them to run the east boundary of Alaska. Do you wish to see strange lands

and people? Accompany a travelling officer of Foreign and Domestic Commerce on a trip to Africa or Asia. Or perhaps you covet adventure at sea? It can be found on a lighthouse steamer. Are tales of "shanghaiing," mutiny, cruelty, and fierce abuses only echoes of the past? Talk with the chief marine officer of the Navigation Service and you will realize that the small rapid-fire gun on the bow of the *Kilkenny* was not put there for ornament.

Can you grasp the infinite romance of science? That romance appears in many forms and in close relation to human happiness in much that can be heard and seen at the Bureau of Standards. You may hear at the Fisheries Office of millinery taken from the bottom of Chesapeake Bay. Perhaps in a moment of deep confidence you may learn of a fish hatchery put by law where there was no water. And if you are fortunate, you may spend an evening with the genial chief of the Steamboat Inspection Service while he tells you the tales from his long experience. You will thus acquire a new sense of what your government is and does, and will awake with surprise to the fact that so little is known about it.

It is a common, and perhaps unconscious, assumption that the Government is the Capitol and the White House. There could hardly be a greater misapprehension of the subject. The Government begins with these; it does not end with them. Congress makes laws; the Executive carries them out; but it is the carry-

ing out after Congress and the White House have both acted that constitutes the daily work of the Government. This work is as varied as the interests of mankind. It covers the whole round earth and affects us all, did we but know it, in our daily living.

CHAPTER VIII

THE MEANNESSES OF UNCLE SAM

THERE are times when plain speech is a duty and one of them came after twenty months' experience as Secretary of Commerce. This is what was said:[1]

I affirm without fear of successful contradiction that the past attitude of the Government toward the Coast and Geodetic Survey, if the magnitude of its task be considered and the quality of its work be weighed, has been—both with respect to its housing, its vessels, and to the necessary apparatus for its serious task, and particularly as regards the Pacific Coast and Alaska—like that of a wealthy and prosperous man refusing to give his loyal children the necessaries of life. I speak . . . with intended emphasis that this Department may not have upon its conscience and its record the responsibility for the loss of human life and property that has ensued from penuriousness respecting this service in the past and that will ensue unless this policy is changed.

These are strong words. They are amply justified. Their truth cannot be successfully challenged. Our citizens have been drowned (31 in one case) and both private and public property repeatedly lost because the United States Government has not more rapidly provided the force and apparatus

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[1] Written Nov. 10, 1914. *Cf.* Report Secretary of Commerce, 1914, pp. 13-14.

with which to survey and chart the dangerous waters of our Pacific and particularly of our Alaskan coast.

A session draws to its close, and it is time for the majority leader in the House of Representatives to render to the public the customary account of the stewardship of his party. We know rather well what he will say as he rises and addresses the Speaker. The details, indeed, are new, but the speech is old. He will criticize the estimates submitted by the departments. He will show how they have been reduced by the Budget Bureau and will indicate, if he can, how much less has been appropriated than the budget suggested. He will discreetly pass over that which Congress has added to budget allowances and will close by telling the great savings that have been made. There is always an alleged saving over something or somebody, whatever the expenditure may be.

One thing, however, he will omit—he will not tell of things that have been left undone. There will be no word said about work that is incomplete or stopped or done in costly installments. There will be silence concerning small pay for great service; nor will there be confession of any financial fault. All will be impeccable, safe, and sound. But if those were there on the floor who know as neither Budget Bureau nor Congress knows—ah, then the speaker's poise might be disturbed, his confidence be less serene and his rhetoric less fluent.

LIBRARY

Far away in Bering Sea lie the Pribilof Islands, where the national seal and fox herds are. The native Indian people of the islands are wards of the Government. There our country maintains a paternal despotism, for everything belongs to the Government—land and buildings, church, schoolhouse, dwellings, and store. The teacher, doctor, and storekeeper are government officials, and the Government is the only employer. One may enter or leave the islands only with the Government's consent and the Government's vessels provide the only means of transportation. Food, fuel, clothing, and all needs of civilization are supplied from official sources. The settlement and the herds—indeed, the archipelago in all its relations save the naval wireless—are under the care of the Bureau of Fisheries in the Department of Commerce.

The Deputy Commissioner of Fisheries made a trip to these islands in the early part of our administration to learn the facts concerning the housing and treatment of our wards, to study what should be done to protect the Government's property, and to obtain the largest possible revenue from it. He found much that was deplorable, and returned full of interest in the welfare of the helpless people committed to the care of his service. In this spirit he asked a sub-committee of the Committee on Appropriations of the House of Representatives for $20,000 with which to better the living conditions of the natives.

"Oh, h——l!" said the chairman, "they don't vote."

The incident illuminates certain political reactions, but otherwise must not be taken too seriously. Men are not always as callous as their speech indicates. Later much was done to help the natives, and the resumption of seal killing not only brought them needed employment but provided a considerable revenue to the Treasury.

The subject of government expenditures is often discussed with more vigour than accuracy. The air at times is filled with charges of excessive spending, on the one hand, and, on the other, with sweeping claims of large economies. The denouncers of extravagance have the louder voices, and on the whole get the greater public hearing. Even a budget chief has joined—indeed, has led—the popular chorus and in language more picturesque than elegant has proclaimed that willful men must cease their wicked wastes and that thrift must replace recklessness. All of which, so far as it goes, is well and perhaps necessary, and let us hope it will be fruitful of permanent good. But neither budget advocates nor prophets of extravagance tell the whole truth. There is something more to be said.

And here it is just to note that the bureau chiefs upon whom vivid anathemas are often poured forth in speech and print have rarely any opportunity to speak for themselves. They could tell much, if they chose to do so, that would modify the statements—including many

very ignorant statements—that have been made about them. Some of them know well that for years their necessary work has been crippled for lack of means and that poverty rather than excess of funds has been their usual lot. It is high time the lid was lifted from the inner workings of some services, and that men who have done much with limited means should have a larger measure of public understanding.

One day the Chief of the Coast and Geodetic Survey told the Appropriations Sub-Committee that some of the work was three to five years behind. The fact was that important data of many kinds had been collected at large expense by one portion of his service, but they were unused, not available to the public who had paid for them. Why? Partly because men could not be had to do the work at the meagre salaries the Survey was allowed to pay, and partly also because the number of workers was so limited by law that even if the force were complete it would still be too small for the task. Therefore, valuable information obtained by the scientific staff for aiding the country's commerce was wasted, lying hidden in the archives of the service, because a penurious policy limited alike the number and pay of the men who alone could make the facts available.

Let us look at another service. The seagoing Fisheries steamer *Albatross* "ran only two and a half months in the fiscal year 1916, and we presented the extraordinary spectacle of a vessel with a crew of eighty

men lying idle at her dock for over nine months for the lack of money to buy coal to operate her. That had been the condition for two years." The words are mine to the Appropriations Committee on March 30, 1916. The chairman asked why we did not discharge the crew. The importance of using the steamer did not seem to occur to him. We told him that the crew was a naval one, which we could not discharge. This recalls another phase of economy to which we may digress for a moment. The *Albatross,* as appears above, had a naval crew of eighty. We offered to run her with a civilian crew of forty on the same basis as other ships in the same service. But as the naval crew was provided under the general navy appropriations, and our proposed smaller crew would mean a new appropriation for us (which would show when the other would not), our request was refused, although we offered to run this ship and another smaller one at an annual saving of over $27,000. Indeed, the chairman said that at the time, before the war, the Navy needed this Fisheries steamer for instruction purposes—lying at the dock three quarters of the time for two years.

Returning to our theme, it is well to note that the Fisheries steamer *Grampus* lay idle at Gloucester, Mass., from September, 1915, to March, 1916, for lack of funds. Her crew was temporarily transferred to work in fish hatcheries, for which there were appropriations. It should hardly be necessary to say that the work of

the *Albatross* and the *Grampus* was urgently needed in connection with the food supply of the country. Vessels of the Coast Survey were often laid up nearly or quite half the year because there was not enough money to keep them moving, although meanwhile ships were being wrecked by striking uncharted rocks in the very districts these vessels should have surveyed.

Consider another class of work carried on in the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce. Our commercial attachés are stationed at our embassies, in constant touch with our ambassadors, with American business men of importance and with leading commercial men and organizations of the country to which they are sent. These attachés were employed under a "lump sum" appropriation, and their salaries could be adjusted to their work and to the economic conditions of the countries to which they were accredited. This was a sensible course, the wisdom of which is evident. But the word "clerk" seems to arouse deep uneasiness in the Congressional mind and leads to frequent and fluent speech. Anyway, the clerks to commercial attachés were treated in opposite fashion from the attachés themselves. One clerk was allowed for each attaché, and the salary was fixed at $1,500 per annum, at the suggestion of the Department in 1913, based on pre-war conditions. Experience proved that none could be had for less than $1,500, regardless of the place where they served. Unfortunately for the clerks and for the serv-

ice, places are not alike. Buenos Aires is on one scale of living, Cape Town perhaps on another, and Tokio on a third. Ten foreign centres, scattered over the world, vary greatly in their demands upon the purse. Several years' experience proved that the rigid requirement was a mistake and worked harm. Congress, however, refused to grant any discretion in the matter and continued two different provisions of law governing the two men in one office in foreign centres. It is not easy to describe the annoyance this inflexible provision caused the service. Often men could not be had or, when obtained, would not remain.

A peculiar case arose in China. There custom and the peculiar difficulties of the language demanded two clerks, one Chinese and one American. But the law said "one," and, necessary or not, we had to go without the other. This was true also of Russia and Japan. We were able to keep the one clerk in Petrograd only because his father provided a large part of his living expense. It is a matter of public record on January 24, 1918, that there was not a single attaché clerk in the entire service who had not reported "that he could not live any longer without an addition to his pay."

The rigid laws required various subterfuges in order to comply with them literally and yet get the work done. A sum was appropriated for certain field work without permitting clerical help in Washington. Yet clerks were essential to make out many cards which were nec-

essary for the operation. Since clerks could not be hired, the course had to be adopted of purchasing these cards from the girls who made them at so much per hundred cards, thus dealing with them as contractors instead of employees. This was quite lawful, and solved the difficulty.

Possibly the most annoying meanness, the most unjust and exasperating parsimony, was in connection with that part of travelling expenses which covered lodging, meals, and laundry. The legal limit for all these purposes was $5 actual outlay per day, which might be commuted to $2.50, $3, $3.50, or $4 per day, "in lieu of subsistence," as it was said, according to the service and the time. The rule about commutation was unlike for different services and was changed at times. No question of railway or other fares was concerned, for these are handled through government orders involving no use of currency. Conceding both the need and the difficulty of handling the problem carefully, it is, nevertheless, true that the rigid rules worked serious hardships to those least able to bear them. Some men would stay with friends, and profit even by the commuted rates. Officers with the higher salaries could perhaps afford to pay a share of their travelling expenses on government account, as many did, including myself. But there were numerous cases at home and abroad where men on small salaries were compelled by the Government to travel for it in places where they

could not possibly live on the allowance, only to have their salaries severely docked because they had exceeded it.

It became my hateful duty in the case of steamboat inspectors and fur wardens in Alaska, who *had* to travel, to deduct at times a large part of their modest salaries on this account. I secured the bills of fare of the restaurants where those men had to eat in such places as Fairbanks, St. Michaels, and Nome, and took them, with the pay vouchers of the men, before the Congressional Committee. The bills of fare showed such rates as $1 for two eggs, 75 cents for a beef sandwich, 25 cents for a cup of coffee, 75 cents for corned-beef hash, and if a man wanted a couple of mutton chops, those were $1.50. It was shown that in one case $58.91 had to be deducted from a monthly salary of $118; in another case, $70.32 from a salary of $167. One of our foreign agents had personally to pay $182.58 in five months for unavoidable excess over the $5 limit, and another had to pay $101 out of his own pocket for the same reason in three months.

I besought Congress to raise the allowance to $8 daily for Alaska or to allow the Secretary some discretion within limits under any stringent provisions they wished to make as to publicity. It was all in vain. Poor men, faithful public servants, had their pitiful salaries thus reduced and were without recourse. I asked the Committee to print the small bills of fare in

the report of the hearing; they refused, but some of the figures were admitted. I told the Committee that the conditions were "absolutely beyond defense," and added:

"Mr. Chairman, your heart would bleed to see some of these poor fellows making $900 (a year) whom we send out and compel to spend $8 a day, and then out of their $75 (per month) take $50 because of this $5 a day limitation."

The chairman's comment was: "They are not compelled to stay in the service."

I replied: "It may be law, but it is absolutely indefensible as law. We cannot excuse it."

This particular class of meanness stands out in my remembrance as unworthy of a great country.

But this was not the sole instance of its kind, nor was such conduct confined to Congress. Treasury auditors could be quite as petty, but perhaps had the sound excuse of working under rigid law. A department officer was sent in midwinter to Florida, and of course took both light and heavy clothing. This required two bags, and he was obliged to take a taxi to the station. On filing his expense voucher after his return, the taxi item was not allowed, but he was invited to tell what was in his bags. Observe, he must account for having two bags. He declined to give his wardrobe details, but said he used the taxi for two blocks. The item was then allowed. Two years later came notice that his

taxi bill was finally disallowed, and he was asked to refund the $1.25 in question. My own secretary took a taxi in a storm while travelling on official business. It was passed, and she also two years later was called upon for a refund of $1.25.

Life in Alaskan marshes was all but unendurable because of the mosquitoes, and without protection from these pests surveying could not be done. The Coast Survey purchased mosquito netting to envelop the heads of the men in one of its working parties. The voucher for this was promptly rejected. An appeal was made, and disallowed on the ground that in Alaska mosquito netting was an ordinary article of clothing. Photographs showing the exceptional conditions did not avail. Curiously enough, we could, and did, supply rubber boots, so that feet could be protected by Uncle Sam, but not heads.

Any one who will take the trouble to look in the Sundry Civil Bill "fiscal year 1919" will find authorized "the reimbursement . . . of officers of the Coast and Geodetic Survey for food, clothing, medicines, and other supplies furnished for the temporary relief of distressed persons temporarily provided for by them, not to exceed a total of $550." Now let the reader recall that this covers twelve or more vessels operating in the Philippines, Alaska, and on the Pacific and Atlantic coasts. It is a munificent provision, is it not? It averages rather less than $50 per vessel per annum. It arose from the

fact that one Coast Survey captain did rescue a shipwrecked party and provide them with food and clothing to the value of about $130. He was, of course, accountable personally for thus using public property. Thereafter he encountered some delay in getting this amount refunded, for there was then no appropriation for the purpose, and it was not altogether without personal financial risk that a captain obeyed the humane instinct. More than one hearing was required before the committee inserted the above-mentioned provision in the law.

If the bureau chiefs who have recently been ignorantly called "gay prodigals" and "gold diggers" could safely speak the truth from their experience, the tale would be a different one from that which is now heard. They would show waste from the cutting down of appropriations and losses by the reduction of estimates; they could tell how the services of valuable men were lost because of small salaries. They could show how hard it often is to keep public work moving for lack of sufficient means. They would tell of improvements of service and of reductions of cost they are not permitted to make. The congressional definition of economy is the absence of spending, which would be amusing if the result were not often sad.

On September 28, 1919, the chairman of the House Committee on Appropriations is quoted as saying: "In the last twenty years only two appropriation estimates

offered by the executive departments were not cut down either in the House or Senate. A saving of $500,000,000 has resulted."

How did he know it was a saving? The answer is that he did not know it. He was talking for public consumption and there was no actual basis for the statement. To state as a sound principle that to cut estimates is to save money is absurd. In more than a few cases such action meant loss.

Public statements about economy often have as a basis merely the difference between totals. Expenditures by one Congress of so many millions, by another Congress of so many fewer millions—result, a saving of the difference. Does any one seriously believe that the Congress or the party that spends a smaller total than another therefore saves so much? What has been left undone and what is the cost of neglecting it? Important work has been interrupted and done by installments at a greatly enhanced cost because an estimate was cut down. Repairs to vessels, buildings, wharves, and equipment have been stopped and costly depreciation has taken place because estimates were cut down. Valuable apparatus has fallen into decay and been replaced at needless cost because estimates have been cut down. I know of one wreck near a lighthouse in which lives were lost for lack of an appropriation to keep a telephone in use, for neither the lighthouse nor the life-saving station close at hand had any means of

communication. Government work is often carried on at unnecessary expense because estimates are cut down. Profitable operations have been brought to an end because estimates have been cut down. Many vessels have been wrecked, many human lives have been lost, and much property has been destroyed because estimates have been cut down.

There is little, if any, appearance in discussions in Washington of the principle that wise expenditure is economy or that the wisdom of outlay is to be determined by its productive results. It goes without saying that no nation, any more than a man, may long spend more than its income, and a budget for balancing revenue and expenditure is as admirable as necessary. Such a budget, however, may still fail of an economical result unless the fruitfulness of expenditure be considered. Much outlay, both public and private, should be reckoned as investment, and even some government services more than pay their way. A good deal of education is needed in Congress before appropriations will be judged by it with the insight that is common in the best-managed private concerns.

Bureau chiefs are human. When they find by years of experience that estimates carefully adjusted to their needs are ignorantly cut down, when they hear such words from a chairman as are quoted above, it is not strange if some are tempted to ask more than they need in order to get enough to do their work. Further-

more, they are the anvil on which the public strikes. Few go to Congress to ask more funds for a service; many come to the service to ask more work, thoughtless of how the means are to be provided. These men, the chiefs of services, are the backbone of the executive work of our government. They serve it sometimes for years on end for small compensation tempered by abuse, giving their lives, in reality, to their country. I have known them to refuse salaries double those the Government paid them in order to bring their work to what they thought a proper conclusion. Others have grown old in service, and have in their declining years only the compensation of a knowledge of work well done to reward them for years of toil.

The great and thus far the abiding meanness of Uncle Sam is found in the small salaries paid to the supervising and executive staff that does his work. Clerical salaries and treatment compare favourably with commercial practice, but the higher posts are underpaid. The Assistant Secretary of Commerce at $5,000 a year was paid less than some of his subordinates. Yet in one negotiation he dealt successfully with government property valued at more than $20,000,000, and it was from his original suggestion that the whole vast system of war insurance grew.

Mr. Bryan has been sharply criticized for lecturing while Secretary of State under circumstances which acid pens described in pungent phrases. He talked

over the whole matter of this lecturing with me one evening at his home, and as he spoke frankly without suggestion of its being confidential it is perhaps only fair to him to present his views. I do not recall what matter brought us together, but we were talking of the demands made by official positions upon our personal means, a subject which is often a serious one in Washington. He said that he had some private properties that were remunerative and others that were not. The income of those which paid served but to carry the others, with the net result that he had no proceeds from them for personal uses. The Government made no provision for the cost of the official entertaining which he was obliged to do as Secretary of State. Its expense was such that he could not meet it and yet live upon his salary. This public expense thus imposed upon his private purse forced him either to borrow or to earn from some unofficial source. He did not think it honourable to run into debt for family expenses, and felt it his clear duty to earn what was necessary in the only way available to him, which was lecturing. He therefore did it in time that otherwise would have been used for vacations. It was difficult when he was thus frank to criticize his course. Another Secretary of State told me that if it were not for the fact that his family had private means he could not maintain the office because of the necessary official entertaining for which he had to pay out of his own pocket.

Any comparison of the compensation of men in the higher ranks of the government service with industrial, commercial, or professional rewards can only result unfavourably to the Government. A valued friend has recently left a work which he created and loved, to become the head of a great educational institution which called him because of distinguished merit. The Government he served so well lets him go to its own hurt because it has not had the wisdom to give him just compensation for his service. Another successful officer takes private work in his profession because the nation he has served faithfully for many years offers him no hope of future reward and surrounds him with narrow restrictions that tie his hands. He handles thousands of men and millions in money for what the most selfish employer would think beggarly pay.

The best men, the men of initiative and enterprise, are constantly tempted to leave government work for fields in which they are more free to act and in which their free action is better appreciated. In the respect of giving value for value to the leading men in its own service, our government is little and not large, small and not great, penurious and not generous. It is a mean spirit that abuses faithful servants and underpays them. The payment of meagre salaries is in the end a costly process, and neglected work brings its full penalty in time with usury.

By all means, let no dollar be spent that can be wisely

saved. But there are areas off the New England coast over which no wire drag has passed, and many parts of our Pacific coastal waters are unsurveyed, which are taking their toll of human life and property. On January 27, 1919, I told the Appropriations Committee: "The unsurveyed condition of our Pacific Coast is a national reproach. But 44 per cent. of the coast of Washington is surveyed, but 14 per cent. of the coast of Oregon, but 27 per cent. of the coast of California. . . . There is twenty years' continuous work for one surveying steamer on the coasts of California, Oregon, and Washington alone." For twenty years no systematic survey has been made off these shores for lack of facilities. At that time only 9 per cent. of the water areas off the coast of Alaska had been surveyed in thirty years, and at the rate of progress that then existed it would take more than three hundred years to complete a first survey of Alaska's navigable waters.

Alaskan channels remain a slightly diminished peril, though better progress has been made since the war in surveying them. The surveys of Philippine waters have progressed much more rapidly because of the funds and the four ships supplied by the Insular Government. The need is great. The record is a bad one, throwing a dark shadow on the country's reputation for wisdom and humanity.[1]

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[1] House Doc. 1214, 63d Congress, 3d Session, "Equipment for Surveys of the Coast of Alaska"; also coloured circular of Coast and Geodetic Survey, 1916, "Condition of Water Surveys, Pacific Coast and Alaska."

I have said that public expenditures are discussed with more vigour than accuracy, and as this is written there comes to hand a notable example. A financial journal presents in alleged humour the following statement:

> Monumental exception, once upon a time an official did spend less than he was allowed, and turned the balance back into the Treasury. Instead of plaudits he got ridicule and ignominy, and probably there wasn't a Congressman, at least of the then dominant party, who did not consider this official a Pharisee and a pest. Not that I mean to asperse long dead and buried Congresses. While it is true that the old-time Congressmen had nothing but contempt for a disbursing officer who couldn't get rid of the money he was authorized to spend, it must be set down as a fact that Congress was the sole check on unbridled extravagance.

It is true that an unexpended balance was thought to mean an excessive estimate rather than care in spending, but, with this qualification, not one statement above quoted is true. During seven years the Department of Commerce turned back unused into the Treasury the total sum of $2,244,606. This represented some branch of every service in the Department, including the Secretary's office, in every one of the seven years. There is no reason to doubt that other departments did likewise. So much for "unbridled extravagance" and for Congress being "the sole check" thereon. The following

words from my own Annual Report for 1919 speak for themselves:

> There is a general impression that money appropriated means money spent. Yet here is a total of $2,244,606 which could have been expended for the purposes named, but was not. In business circles such action would be deemed commendable and would win confidence of financial authorities in the wisdom of the disbursing organization. The reverse is true, however, in the Government under the existing system.

Had there been any process whereby the money thus saved could have been used, by authority, for other urgent public purposes, the road would have been less thorny. Such a process exists in New York City, but not in Washington. The result is fiscal starvation in some places coincident with refunds in others. The attitude, not perhaps of Congress as a whole, but of its Appropriations Committee, was not wise in such things, but it was accuracy and wisdom combined as compared with the quoted statement of alleged facts.

No one can look over the volumes of the hearings before a sub-committee of the House Committee on Appropriations without seeing the impossible task the members had to perform. The hearings on one bill before one sub-committee covered 1,763 printed pages. The system, now happily modified somewhat by the budget, was, and still is, an impossible one. To bring

about true economy, understanding must take the place of antagonism. Coöperation alone will remove duplication, provide coördination, and furnish the only sensible basis for economical use of public funds. The country grows, and the cost of operating its government grows with it. The demands of the country upon its government increase faster than the population. If these facts, of which every service has record, are taken fairly into account, there will be fewer adjectives and more sympathy and a better adjustment of our expenditures to the demands of our people.

Finally, there are many things one is glad to leave behind in Washington. There is the meanness—it is no less—that permits ordering a young officer to study at a technical school yet requires him to pay his own tuition; the utter lack of decent courtesy, indeed of self-respect, that permits comment in legislative halls on the personal gifts that nations, peoples, cities, and even children have been pleased to give our chief magistrate. These and things like these are depressing. So, too, is the undercurrent of scandalous personal gossip—the rolling of salacious stories, devoid of truth, under the tongues of the suspicious, the pushing up of salaries where votes may count while ruthlessly holding down others where it is deemed safe—the economy in talk and often only in talk matched by wasteful and negligent enactments. There is scope for a Juvenal in Washington.

Yet these are but the shadows and there are lights, even high lights, which by contrast make the shadows seem the darker. On the whole the light increasingly prevails.

CHAPTER IX

ON HEROES

I HAVE a standing quarrel with writers of pessimistic realism. They are teachers of the superficial rather than of the actual. Posing as realists, they tell the unreal and are purveyors of profound untruth. No one can live in constant touch with masses of men, be it in industry, war, or government, without frequent surprise at the moral strength and the spirit of sacrifice that are found in what seem the most unfriendly surroundings, which thrust aside the outward shell of selfishness and sin and show the inward beauty of life in the day of trial. Incidents of this revealing kind appear in every great government service. Two of them are narrated here which came to light in the ordinary course of department business. Their number could be multiplied indefinitely.

It is the 17th of January in 1916—the rainy season. A fierce gale is blowing from the southwest and the surf breaks high on the coast of Kauai. The wind rushes freely over a thousand miles of ocean and piles the sea in masses on the lee shore which the island places in its path. Shoals and sea and storm—a pitiless alliance

whose terrors no one knows so well as the sailor. A vessel out of control and a lee shore in a gale—these form the very portal of death to the seaman. Can any help be found in time?

Over on the eastern side of the island the waters are quiet under the protecting shore. The *Columbine* is there, having come from Honolulu to land the lighthouse superintendent at Ahukini. Two landsmen are on board—a foreman and a machinist sent to make repairs—quite unaware of the thrilling experience which is soon to be theirs.

As she lies in brief security, let us think for a moment about this lighthouse tender, the *Columbine.* It is a pleasant name which evokes a sort of imaginary fragrance and does not at all suggest the sturdy sea-fighter that this little ship is soon to reveal herself to be. For the *Columbine*—one likes to repeat the name—is a small ship, about one hundred and fifty feet in length and of less than five hundred tons' displacement. It is well that her hull is steel and in material and workmanship sound and good. It is also well that she has been kept in fine repair under the watchful eye of Captain F. T. Warriner and his staff, for she is twenty-four years old and faces the supreme test of her life. She is one of only three ships provided with wireless out of forty-seven that the Lighthouse Service had then in commission. But for that there would be no story of heroism here, but only a tale of tragedy. This ship's

complement numbers twenty-five—six officers and nineteen crew. The vessels of their service form one of two fleets in the Department of Commerce, whose work calls them into places where other ships may not safely venture. Hard of hand the men of the crew, and perhaps rough of speech, but in a crisis strong and resourceful. As for their officers, all of them, from captain down—wait and see. So, quietly doing her day's work, the *Columbine* lies in shelter at Ahukini, all on board unconscious of any impending test.

At 8:30 on Monday morning wireless operator Bigler handed to Captain Warriner an intercepted message from Hanapepe, about twenty-five miles around the coast by sea. It said that the bark *British Yeoman* was in distress at Port Allen, near by, and asked that aid be rushed. The *Columbine* "immediately got under way. There was a southwest gale blowing, with a heavy head sea." Into this she plunged, facing the full force of the angry Pacific. Soon the power of the storm was such that the vessel had to "slow down on account of the heavy head sea, as she was shipping too much water to drive her full speed." On the way a wireless message was sent to the Harbour Master at Port Allen, asking if the *Columbine* could get so near the imperilled ship as to put a hawser on board for towing, and the answer came, "Will have to float hawser to vessel."

More than three hours passed and at last, a few min-

utes after noon, the officers of the rescuing ship saw the task that lay before them. The bark was lying "with her stern in the breakers on a dead lee shore, with only one anchor and flying signals of distress." She had been there five hours, and had already struck nine times heavily, so that the rudder was useless. She was four times as large as the ship that had come to save her.

Captain Warriner writes that "a very heavy sea was running, but wind was moderating." The weather instruments at Port Allen record that the wind was blowing "between sixty-five and eighty miles an hour," and the captain of a naval tug, of which we shall hear later, reports that the seas were the worst he had seen there and that they were from twenty to twenty-five feet from trough to crest.

Under these conditions the work of rescue begins. Currents forbid floating a hawser to the disabled ship, and a small boat must be launched in that fearful sea. What skill and effort lie behind the simple statement that this "was successfully accomplished!" The *Columbine* drops her anchors well outside the endangered vessel and, holding firmly by them, lets herself drift down toward the bark till near enough for a long hawser to reach. The second officer takes a small line in the boat, and the wind and sea soon drive him alongside the bark, where the line is thrown and grasped and the heavy hawser pulled aboard and made secure.

The *Columbine* lifts anchors and signals to the bark

to let hers slip so that towing may begin. But for some reason, at the moment, the bark could neither let her anchor go nor take it in. Then there was instant danger. The *Columbine* "could not steam ahead or back up." Fast to an anchored ship in a terrible sea and swinging at the end of the hawser that united them, there was constant peril that the rope would foul the propeller, which would mean destruction to both vessels and all on board them. "Both ships were then in a dangerous position and dangerously close to each other. The wind began to freshen. I knew neither ship could hold on during the night, so I cut the hawser, and by working the engine slowly found the propeller was clear."

Meanwhile, reader, try to visualize the freshening gale and mountainous seas, the howling of the storm, the roar of the breakers, the visible imminent danger, the apparently impossible task. The men worked while constantly wet, without sleep, taking food on their feet without ceasing their toil. There was no hope of salvage or chance of financial reward for officers or crew; the fact that they were government employees forbade that. They risked their lives to save their fellows in willing, unselfish service, finding a stern joy in wresting victory from the elements.

Undaunted, the *Columbine* again anchors outside, again lowers a boat. Once more this boat drops down alongside the bark and takes from her a wire rope which

is hauled over to the *Columbine* and made fast. All anchors are up and the vessels start. They go three hundred feet, and the wire rope breaks on the bark's bow. She lets go a small anchor, having lost her large one. "The situation then looked desperate. Would her anchor hold while I hove in the wire?" It did. The broken wire cable was drawn on board the *Columbine* lest it, too, foul the propeller. Again she anchors, again the small boat is lowered (this was the third time), again the hawser, now doubled, is sent on board the bark.

Now it is "dark, with heavy sea running and heavy rain squalls." All anchors are hoisted once more, and they "proceeded for the open sea." "It was indeed an anxious time for all hands, for should the hawser part she would drift ashore and ship and all hands would be lost. At times we were hardly holding our own. I dared not give her more speed on account of the heavy sea."

It took two hours to make "a distance of about one mile." Wind and sea were increasing, barometer falling, and "both vessels pitching heavily." Meanwhile, the wire cable that had broken was prepared for further use, and a coil of new heavy rope was fastened to it, ready in case the towing hawser should part. It did part at a quarter past one on Tuesday morning, the 18th, in a squall "blowing a hurricane and raining in torrents." The captain adds: "It was so thick I

could not see ten feet ahead, still I knew we had to get hold again, else she would go ashore. The rain ceasing, I made her out close aboard. I made several attempts to put the wire aboard her before succeeding."

Another start. "The bark was then close in on Makuhuena Point. We could see the breakers plainly on her lee beam. We had just managed to weather the Point when the hawser again parted." But the Point was weathered, there was sea room now, the immediate peril passed. The *Columbine* had no hawser left, but "stood by," sending wireless messages saying all her lines had parted and she could no longer tow.

At 7:30 Tuesday morning she heard that the naval tug *Navajo* was coming. All day Tuesday the *Columbine* still "stood by," awaiting the promised help. She made a fruitless trip to intercept a steamer which she thought to be near, and returned to the helpless bark. At 8 P.M. Tuesday the *Navajo* arrived, and then, after its work was well done, the *Columbine's* wireless burned out. The *Navajo* asked the *Columbine* to "stand by" because the tug had no boats sufficient to take off the bark's crew in case of accident.

Twice during Tuesday night the steel hawser of the *Navajo* broke, but on Wednesday at 2 P. M. the three arrived outside of Honolulu. The *Columbine* went in, got another tug, returned to the bark, and reported that the sea at the entrance to Honolulu Harbour was "breaking heavily" and that the bark could not safely

enter, as she could not steer. The *Navajo* decided to tow the *British Yeoman* to the lee side of the island into quiet water. The *Columbine* was released, her duty done.

The captain writes: "I cannot speak too highly of the conduct of the officers and crew under a most trying and dangerous condition, all hands being without sleep for fifty-six hours." There were no exceptions on board, from the captain down. The wireless operator, though seasick, stuck to his post until his instrument failed. The landsmen who were present by accident did their full part. The spirit of the heroic captain was fully reflected in the spirit of the officers and crew. It was officially reported to Washington by the Inspector of the Lighthouse District that "nothing short of valour, heroism, and determination enabled the master, officers, and crew of the *Columbine* to save the imperilled vessel."

It is impossible to give adequate praise to such an achievement, but the Secretary of Commerce wrote Captain Warriner, expressing "high appreciation of the services rendered by all on board during the rescue in which the best traditions of the Lighthouse Service have been upheld so well." A circular letter was issued to the entire Service by the Secretary on February 18, 1916, to express not only his "appreciation of the extraordinary skill and courage with which this rescue was effected, but also to make it an example to all of unself-

ish devotion to duty." A copy of this letter was ordered "to be framed and placed in a prominent position on board the *Columbine,* there to remain as a witness of the approval with which the Department views the heroic and unselfish efforts of the men whom it is proud to reckon among its employees."

The President of the United States wrote his thanks for "the report of the heroic services of the officers and crew of the *Columbine,*" adding: "I have read it with quickened pulses.—Convey to these men my personal congratulations."

Two other vessels were destroyed near Port Allen in the same storm which so nearly brought the *British Yeoman* to disaster.

But a word of appreciation must be given the brave men on the *Navajo.* She is a little vessel, low in the water; her decks were always under the great seas and the men were not permitted on the lower deck. The great pitching and rolling of the little tug left no one on board free from seasickness except "Jimmy Navajo," the mascot, and even of him the captain said he "was a mightily dejected dog."

Nor must we close the incident without saying that the spirit of the men of the *Columbine* was typical rather than unique. They had a great opportunity, and met it nobly, but so have others done when they had the privilege. In the Department of Commerce a personal letter was regularly sent by the Secretary to men who

went out of their way to render unselfish service beyond the usual call of duty. It became necessary to write such letters frequently to men of various services, but that was natural, since in one way or another service in aid of life or property was rendered somewhere within the Department's scope at least as often as once every three days. Within four days, October 17–21, 1922, at places as far apart as Alaska and Florida, the lighthouse tenders *Cedar* and *Mangrove* did rescue work. The former saved the steamer *Jefferson,* which had lost her propeller and was adrift at the mercy of wind and tide in an exposed locality off Alaska. In forty minutes the *Cedar,* which was at her home wharf, assembled the crew, raised steam, and put to sea at night to find a helpless vessel under unknown conditions in a dangerous place. The *Mangrove* ran alongside the steamer *Lenape,* aground on Florida reefs, and, working actually in the breakers in but nine feet of water, successfully transferred 247 passengers, including a number of children, to the steamer *Arapahoe.* Baggage as well was saved. The *Mangrove* was herself damaged in doing this splendid duty.

There is much in Washington that shows the seamy side of life, but for him who hath eyes to see there is also much to make one walk with uplifted head in finer faith in his fellows. In this belief let us turn to another story.

The manufacture of high explosives required the use

of platinum for certain chemical processes, and it was necessary soon after we entered the war to secure an unusual quantity of this precious metal. The chief source of supply was Russia, and at the request of the War Department the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce purchased through agents in Petrograd a lot of some sixteen thousand ounces, which was duly shipped to this country, consigned to the Secretary of Commerce. Its value was then from $95 to $105 per ounce, and it was with much relief that the costly material, on its arrival, was turned over to the War Department. It became evident, however, that still more was required to satisfy the appetite of the cannon for explosives, but by this time, early in 1918, the Russian Revolution had closed the former avenues of purchase. Still the "vitally necessary" platinum must be had "almost at any cost," the record says, and it could be found in sufficient quantity only in Russia.

Emergencies are said to bring the men able to cope with them; certainly this crisis found in Charles Leroy Preston those combined qualities which led to his selection to carry out a desperate enterprise. On November 16, 1917, Mr. Preston had been appointed Trade Commissioner in the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, Department of Commerce, for service in Russia, where he had lived twelve years; he "spoke the language and was familiar with the Russian people." He resigned from this service on March 6, 1918. Be-

ing chosen by the War Department, because of his peculiar fitness, for the dangerous duty of obtaining platinum, he volunteered to serve without compensation. "His mission was necessarily a secret one," and he undertook it as a civilian.

Let us look at this man for a moment before he enters on his perilous task. Mr. Preston was a young business man who was not quite forty years of age when this story opens. He had been connected with a great shoe-manufacturing company for seventeen years. He had become experienced as a collector and buyer of hides for several large concerns, and had been successful in 1916 in removing a large quantity of calf skins from Riga under circumstances of great difficulty.

A friend writes:

> The character of Mr. Charles L. Preston was notable in that it combined a youthful spirit of adventure with a sober business sense which the big industrial men respected highly; at one time he could be a dashing and handsome young man driving a sporty motor car at a seaside resort, and at another time a man who could negotiate relentlessly for a business advantage with the keenest commercial minds in Russia.

The recommendation for his appointment as Trade Commissioner stated that he was "probably the leading authority in the United States on hides, skins, leather, boots, and shoes."

The task before him was one to tax the powers of the

ablest. He was secretly to take a large sum ($2,500,000), enter Siberia, and go as far as was necessary to secure its value in platinum. He was to bring this back to Vladivostok and deliver it to our Government's representative there. It was known that the Trans-Siberian Railway line was broken and that hard fighting was going on along the line. The country near the railway was infested with robber bands to whom all save themselves were foes. It was doubtful if one could enter at all; it was much more doubtful if one could penetrate for the thousands of miles it might be necessary to travel to accomplish the result. Most uncertain of all was the return.

All the dangers were accentuated by the precious freight to be carried both ways. This young American business man willingly undertook the desperate task. He kept a journal of his experiences, which is all too brief and in which his major task is nearly invisible. It permits, however, when supplemented by facts derived from other sources, such knowledge of his noble and unselfish service as even his modesty could not wholly conceal.

Arriving at Vladivostok about the first of May, 1918, Mr. Preston found the city in the hands of the Bolsheviki. Life at a so-called hotel was nearly impossible; food and service were bad and cleanliness could not be had. He was welcomed on board our flagship *Brooklyn* and remained there some months. He suc-

ceeded during this period in accomplishing a part of his work, but, as it was impossible to get sufficient quantities of platinum, he "found it imperative to travel to the centre of Siberia," and perhaps to "continue to the Ural Mountains."

On June 29th the Czechoslovaks in their marvellous odyssey captured Vladivostok and gradually secured control of the railway lines connecting that port with the main Trans-Siberian Railway. In August, Allied troops arrived in Vladivostok, and on the 27th of that month our own infantry came from the Philippines. By this time the Czech troops were scattered at intervals along the railway from central Siberia eastward, holding it temporarily in partial control.

By several months of patient, adept effort, Mr. Preston had secured the coöperation, not only of the American Consul and officers, but of Russian officials. Meanwhile the manager of the Russian end of the Red Cross concluded that Preston was the best available man to conduct a trainload of hospital supplies through to Irkutsk in Siberia. This idea appealed to Preston as a means of entrance which would permit getting small lots of platinum from time to time from wandering soldiers and from the secret stock of noblemen while moving toward his main objective. The Red Cross work was at once sincere and useful service and invaluable camouflage. He therefore became a major in the Red Cross, commissioned "to proceed to the interior,

ostensibly for the purpose of establishing Red Cross hospitals for the relief of the Czechoslovaks." This humane duty he did well, for before he left Vladivostok he organized under great difficulties a hospital at that port, another at Harbin, and a third farther north. This work occupied the time until September 1st.

The arrival of troops and the temporary success of the Czechs in Siberia then made it possible to start with the carefully developed Red Cross record as an effective background. With amazing skill and a happy combination of authority, diplomacy, and bluff—he said he hardly knew how it was done—he secured a train from the local railway officials. It was loaded with supplies and with the cash he had to carry, and after "much preparation and hard work" he started west on September 14th. There were six in the party besides four American soldiers assigned as guards, two Chinese cooks, and a Russian porter. This was the first train that went west over the Trans-Siberian Railway after its operations were interrupted by the Bolsheviki.

Four hours after their start there were signs of trouble ahead. They met the Czech commander in a train taken from the Bolsheviki. It "showed plainly the bullet holes, broken windows, and generally battered conditions which one expects to find on a train that had passed through such ordeals as many of the trains on the Siberian railways were obliged to undergo. Practically all of the fighting was done along the railways,

and a greater part of the damage was done to railway property, as bridges destroyed, water towers blown up, and coal and wood burned in wholesale quantities meant just so much more trouble and delay to those who were attempting to get the railways into working order."

At Harbin the Russian transportation manager refused to furnish a dining car that had been promised. "By pure bluff," Mr. Preston "bearded him in his den . . . just to show that he couldn't keep an American out by refusing to see him. . . . We succeeded in doing exactly as we had made up our mind to do." He got the car, cleaned and stocked it, and was off in a half day.

On the 19th a pro-Bolshevist official refused to furnish an engine, saying there was no fireman. Preston said he would furnish one. Then there was no engineer, etc. On investigation, he found three engines with steam up and with full crews; "the station master and the round house master were delaying us out of pure cussedness." They were invited either to supply an engine at once or to have an interview with the Japanese railway guard. "I am sure," said Preston, "the Japs will be able to convince you that I have a right to an engine." They got the engine.

Farther on they were fortunate enough to be hitched to a Czech troop train of sixty-five cars. They went slowly, for there had been "heavy fighting less than six weeks before." . . . "Many of the bridges and cul-

verts had been blown up by the Bolsheviki and the temporary ones were a little shaky." The water towers were gone, and all fuel. The Czech soldiers scoured the country to collect old ties and pieces of wood "to have enough fuel to keep steam." The journal proceeds: "In many places the country looked as though a cyclone had struck it; . . . houses and barns had been burned . . . there were many traces of wrecked trains" and remains of abandoned plunder. An important bridge was gone, but a temporary one was erected "on a level with the [water in the] river, but when it rained the water flowed over the top of the bridge." It would not support an engine, so the train was pushed down on to this bridge; then an engine crept cautiously down the opposite bank and pulled the train up. The damage to the line was such that on some days they could run less than 160 miles in twenty-four hours.

At Chita and elsewhere they "were swamped with requests for permission to ride, which it was necessary to refuse." Some "very officious" Russian officers were told they "could ride in the freight car on the rear of our train, which served as a caboose for our train crew." From Chita west there was less trouble, because of Czech control of the line. One tunnel was blown up, and Mr. Preston gives a vivid account of the combats for mastery on the railway. Irkutsk was found to have been the scene of desperate fighting. "The town is

spattered with bullet marks . . . many public buildings have been burned or blown up . . . the Governor's palace . . . is one mass of bullet marks."

It was found there that the information regarding platinum received before the start was "absolutely unreliable," and there was no "hope to have any success unless I continued my journey to the Ural Mountains." The railway westward from Irkutsk was at the time less disturbed. One bridge guard was "made up of forty men; thirty had boots and twenty-five had rifles, so they were obliged to take turns in wearing the boots and carrying the rifles." At Omsk there was plenty of food; indeed, during the trip "of nearly twelve weeks, covering about nine thousand miles, at no time were we without a plentiful supply of white bread. There was an abundance of everything that Siberia produced, but the unfortunate conditions (political) and the crippled . . . railway, together with the utter indifference . . . shown by . . . every government official, made the distribution of these immense supplies impossible. Sugar, tea, tobacco, cloth, leather, medicines . . . did not exist."

They pressed on westward. At one station "there were eight different kinds of soldiers to be seen on the station platform, and endless numbers of refugees." All along the route Red Cross supplies were furnished to the Czechs, who were without money, supplies, rifles, am-

munition, or clothing, and "slowly but surely being sacrificed man by man" for lack of support. So doing hospital work on the way and ordering by wire further Red Cross materials to be sent up from Vladivostok, he pushed ahead even to Ekaterinburg, in European Russia, then but forty miles from the fighting front, which was being steadily forced eastward. There he found active help from the American Consul for his "particular business."

Mr. Preston visited the house in which the Czar and his family were imprisoned and wrote the following vivid account of what he saw:

It was a large private residence situated on the top of a low hill. The Bolsheviki had built a double board fence about twenty feet high around the entire house and garden and had placed each fence about twenty-five feet apart and put cleats on each side, so it was a physical impossibility to peek through, either from the inside or the outside. A part of the windows were barred on the outside, and nearly every one was fitted on the inside with sheet iron shutters, which fastened with padlocks. All the furniture had been removed except the dining-room table and five chairs. There were no beds, mattresses, chairs, or tables in any of the rooms which the Imperial family occupied. The party was made up of nine people and they all had to sleep on the floors.

The Czar and Czarevitch were supposed to have been shot in a vaulted room in the basement, which looked as though it might have been a billiard or a card room under ordinary circumstances. There was wainscoting around this room, and in one corner there were fifteen or sixteen bullet holes about

breast high, as though someone had been standing or crouching in the corner and had been shot at; in the centre of the room there were about twenty bullet holes in the floor as though the shots had been fired direct into some object lying on the floor. There were dark stains on various parts of the floor of the room, and it was not necessary to stretch one's imagination to think that they might have been bloodstains.

It is supposed that the Czarina and her daughters were taken outside of Ekaterinburg and killed, and then the house was burned; this surmise is grounded on the report that in the ruins of a small house there were corset steels and some silver ornaments found which were supposed to have been identified by old servants of the Czar's family as belonging to one of the daughters.

. . . Twenty-seven Grand Dukes and Duchesses as well as other relatives were imprisoned in this District. Three Grand Dukes and two Grand Duchesses succeeded in escaping, but were overtaken in the village of Allepaevsk and were thrown alive down the shaft of an old deserted mine, and hand grenades were thrown after them. The bodies were taken out of this shaft and identified by an Investigating Committee while I was in Ekaterinburg.

Mr. Preston succeeded in getting all the platinum that the local banks had and made arrangements for more. Nevertheless, he records that the month he spent in Ekaterinburg while collecting platinum was "one of the dreariest and most depressing periods of my life. There was misery and suffering on all sides." By November 11th he "had expended all the available money and it was necessary to return." So, taking the Consul along, he started back.

At Omsk he heard of the armistice and received "a telegram from Washington stating that I should cease my activities for the time being, which exactly coincided with my desires." There remained only the duty of getting out with his purchases. So eastward he went, keeping his treasure concealed so far as was possible under his mattress, picking up a car of flour for the hospital at Vladivostok, seeing some Bolsheviki caught at cutting the telegraph wires, transporting meanwhile seventy invalided Czechs in three sanitary cars of his train back to Irkutsk on November 21st. There "Bolsheviki had renewed their activities" and "two nights before our arrival there were twenty-one robberies and murders committed during the night."

To the east of Irkutsk new worries arose. Semenoff at Chita had protested against Kolchak's dictatorship and was threatening "all kinds of trouble." Mr. Preston "had too much money in cash and too much valuable material" in his possession to take any unnecessary chances. Nevertheless, at Chita his train pulled in on the track next to one where two of Semenoff's armoured trains were standing. They "were manned by the worst looking lot of cutthroats imaginable." Mr. Preston writes:

> I smile . . . when I thought how . . . these same rascals would be acting if they knew that in addition to being the innocent Red Cross train, as we appeared to be, I had a

few million (gold) rubles on board as well as other very valuable materials.

Naturally, he was "in a tremendous hurry to get out of Chita," and after an unexpected delay because a Czech soldier had gone off to buy bread he "was greatly relieved to get out of Chita without any unpleasant incidents," for he thought Chita was "the worst point." It was just then that "it looked as though our troubles were about to begin in earnest," for at a junction they ran in behind a so-called Post Train that had been waiting ten hours for an engine.

The station master would promise nothing, so Mr. Preston took things in his own hands. Finding the railway workmen had not been paid for three months and were short of food, he offered for a train crew "a square meal and as much money as they demanded if it was anywhere within reason." In an hour and a half they were on their way, leaving the Post Train behind them.

From this time on there were no serious troubles. On December 3d, at 1 A.M., he arrived at Vladivostok. There they worked from seven in the morning until ten that night, packing and sealing the material they had brought. It was delivered to our waiting transport at 11:30 P.M., and the ship sailed at five in the morning. He felt "as though someone had taken off my shoulders more care and worry than I hope to be obliged to carry in the future."

He had done his work and done it well. The platinum was bought at about 25 per cent. less than the limit given him. "I was tired and under the weather," he writes. He resigned his Red Cross Commission and sailed December 23, 1918, for home. The following despatch dated February 17, 1919, tells what followed:

Charles Preston arrived home to his family apparently in good health. One hour later he suffered a shock from which he never regained consciousness and died about six o'clock this evening.

In recommending him for a Distinguished Service Medal—which for technical reasons was never awarded—it was said:

This journey was accomplished only by overcoming almost insurmountable difficulties and at constant and great personal hazard and hardship, and was only carried out by the exercise of remarkable energy, tact, and bravery.

It was suggested that his citation read:

For exceptionally meritorious services to the Government in carrying out a secret mission to the interior of Russia, while that country was in the throes of the Bolshevik revolution, for the purpose of obtaining a quantity of platinum vitally necessary to the military operations of the Government, which required a remarkable degree of business ability, tact, and unflinching courage, and which was successfully performed at great and constant personal risk and hardship.

The Chief of Ordnance wrote:

> His mission which he accomplished with signal success, was of great value, and if, as I understand, he contracted the malady from which he died while so serving the Government, he as truly and unselfishly gave his life for his country as did the soldiers who were killed on the battlefield.

I deem it a privilege to give to his fellow countrymen this story of the heroic service of Charles L. Preston.

The quotations made above are from the official records in the case of the *Columbine* and from Mr. Preston's journal and official correspondence in the latter case. Of these men, and many others like them, serving unselfishly and often unknown, it may be truly said that they deserved well of their country. When I hear slighting references to government employees I think of Preston and of Captain Warriner and his men and rejoice to know that there are others who will follow the fine examples they have set.

CHAPTER X

A PEACE DEPARTMENT IN WAR TIME

In the middle of the war a Senator cast loose from his mental moorings at a banquet in New York and embarked on a stream of imaginative language that swept him into stormy seas where dwell the monstrous forms of the Things That Aren't So.

The following letter shows the reaction of the Department of Commerce to the outward expression of the Senator's critical complex:

Washington, *January 21, 1918.*

To the Officers and Workers in the
Department of Commerce:

United States Senator George E. Chamberlain, Chairman of the Senate Committee on Military Affairs, is reported through the press to have said on the 19th inst. in an address before the National Security League:

"The military establishment of America has fallen down . . . it has almost stopped functioning . . . because of inefficiency *in every bureau* and *in every department* of the Government of the United States."

The emphasis is mine.

We in this department form no part of the military establishment, though in every branch we are in full coöperation with it. We are included, however, under the charge that in-

efficiency "in every bureau" and "in every department" has led to the result said to exist. If it exists it is said to be at least in part our fault. All departments, all bureaus, are sentenced together. Such a statement from such a source must (if we may assume it to be correctly reported) be given weight. It is either true or false as regards ourselves. What lesson can we learn from it?

Candidly, I had not believed any such sweeping condemnation could be justly made of our mutual service. The words of cordial praise that come often unsolicited from many sides about every one of our services, the commendation of the business and the industrial world, the noble spirit of self-sacrifice so freely shown by you in many forms, the known and definite results of our common efforts, the constant touch with all our work that you know it is my pleasure and privilege to try to maintain, these and what I have permitted myself to think thirty years of industrial and executive experience had taught me, had led to the belief that in this department, so far as the law and the funds at our disposal permit, we have on the whole a highly effective organization even when judged by severe standards of industrial practice. Nor, let me say in justice to you, am I aware that any external inquiry into the work of the department has been made upon which to base a charge to contrary effect. We are, as you know, constantly studying our work in all its forms with a view to its improvement.

But this is beside the mark. Our work, if good, will speak for itself. We have neither duty nor right of self-praise. What I ask you, every one of you, to consider for yourself, is whether this charge is true of you, of your division or bureau, of your part, whatever it be, in our common work. For now more than ever must we do our work well. The slacker in work, if such there be, plays Germany's game. Inefficiency is a sin against your country. Red tape, unless required by law,

is an offense against patriotism. Let us speak plainly. If inefficiency exists it must cease or the ineffective ones must go. This is no hour for hesitancy about persons.

But having thus in all seriousness said, let me add in conclusion that I fully believe the firm confidence I hold in you is for sufficient cause and will be more than justified by the high effectiveness of your service.

Yours very truly,

WILLIAM C. REDFIELD,
Secretary.

The Senator certainly could not complain that his criticism was unheeded, but his attack went far beyond the remotest confines of truth. In all verity, the Senator did not know what he was talking about and, in so far as the Department of Commerce was concerned, had made no visible effort to learn. But that condition and behaviour are not uncommon in either house of Congress and are no bar to vigorous speech. The presence in either body of men who knew the facts and had power to ask questions would put a serious "outflow tax" on oratory. The *Congressional Record* would be smaller, more interesting, and would cost less.

Certain things were anxiously discussed during the early stages of the war in some executive circles and were rarely mentioned outside them. One of these was optical glass.

Had a citizen with an inquiring mind visited one of our battleships before the war and examined such instruments as sextants, range-finders, telescopes, binoc-

ulars, and the like, he would have found that the lenses in them were of glass whose true mark of origin, written or unwritten, was "Made in Germany." With the coming of the war the German supply—which was the only sufficient supply—was cut off. The French and English could not meet their own requirements, and we had in this country no developed optical-glass industry. Indeed, we had only a small beginning of the industry, hardly enough to keep one large ship supplied, if so much.

The problem of producing proper glass for military purposes was most serious, for the urgency of the need for camera lenses, optical systems for periscopes, range finders, etc., can scarcely be overstated. Optical-glass products are the eyes of the military services; without them they would be blind indeed. As a makeshift the Navy borrowed field glasses far and wide, wherever it could get them, and, like many other citizens, I had the pleasure of lending Jena binoculars to aid in fighting the Germans. Our navy men used all sorts and conditions of glasses thus loaned, and few of the lenders knew why it was done.

Fortunately, the Bureau of Standards had known of this problem in advance and had been wrestling with it for months before we entered the war. Indeed, prior to April, 1917, we had made more than one hundred melts of glass. Ignorance upon the subject was nearly complete. We had to find the right materials for the

pots and learn how to make them, and then to find the proper mixture of materials for each kind of optical glass and learn the correct treatment of it. It was earnest, devoted, scientific research, carried on unceasingly for many months at our glass plant in the old armoury grounds at Pittsburgh. I spent an interesting day there during the war, watching the doctors of science operating the glass furnaces and seeing our ceramic chemists working on the materials for the large pots, each holding nearly a thousand pounds of glass.

The practice and experience of our established glass-making factories were of little avail at the beginning, for optical glass is of a quality that is separate and apart from even the best ordinary product, much as diamonds and rubies are distinct from semi-precious stones. Finally, every detail was worked out. New materials and methods were found for making the pots through the skill and untiring energy of Dr. A. V. Bleininger, our chief ceramic chemist, and in our own plant we produced on a commercial scale the best quality of optical glass of every kind required for military purposes.

In October, 1918, we shipped more than three thousand pounds of first-grade binocular glass selected from more than fifteen thousand pounds actually produced. The great new laboratory mentioned in an earlier chapter contains a modern optical-glass works, and this dangerous deficiency can hardly vex us again. Through-

out the long study of this problem it was our privilege to coöperate with the military services and with the glass industry in order to make and maintain an adequate supply of an essential and, to us, a novel product which required the most careful scientific selection and manipulation in every phase of its manufacture. This work was supplemented by using the glass of our production to make lenses, prisms, etc., ready for service in our own optical-instrument shop at Washington.

The Army and Navy wanted wool and yet more wool, and this great demand brought an acute need for a suitable substitute for wool in blankets. The textile division of the Bureau of Standards attacked this problem, and, after careful study in its own experimental textile mill, at last developed and produced a blanket material of cotton as warm as a wool blanket and as durable.

What should we use to cover airplane wings? The Allies used linen; we had none, and no sufficient means of making it. France and Great Britain needed all they could produce. The textile laboratories of the Department, in coöperation with manufacturers, designed and produced a new cotton fabric having all the desirable qualities of linen for this essential purpose. A further step in connection with it was the production of a new "dope" or varnish which gave the necessary finish and neutralized the inflammable qualities of the cotton.

One morning in 1915 when crossing New York

Harbour with Dr. S. W. Stratton, then Director of the Bureau of Standards, we found the fog so thick that on the way to Staten Island our boat was stopped repeatedly to determine the position of other vessels. We stood out on the forward deck listening to the whistle signals from passing craft. Then and there Doctor Stratton said it must be possible to use radio waves to solve the problems of navigation in fog and thick weather—that is, to determine the presence, approximate distance, and direction of other vessels by means of radio. Seven years earlier the Lighthouse Service had mentioned using radio signals in this way, but nothing practical had been done.

We discussed the matter at length, and I asked Doctor Stratton to take it up actively. On his return to Washington he conferred with Doctor Kolster, Chief of the Radio Division of the Bureau of Standards, who in about a month prepared the preliminary design of an apparatus for the purpose. He was asked to continue his researches. He did so, and soon produced the original direction finder or radio compass. One day I went to Doctor Kolster's room to see the new instrument. He put the wireless ear-pieces on my head and sat with me listening to the official wireless messages being sent out from Germany. We noted down in a blank book such of them as we could understand.

The first form of the direction finder was of course crude, but it was rapidly perfected, and now is an im-

portant safeguard to navigators. During the war it was used successfully to find where German submarines were operating. These submarines rose to the surface daily to report by wireless to Germany. Our wireless stations on the eastern shore of the Atlantic heard these signals, and by their direction finders were able to determine the place whence they came, for the point where the lines of direction from our stations met at sea was the spot where the submarine was signalling. These facts were transmitted to our naval command and appropriate action followed. The radio compass also found practical service in enabling our transports to enter harbours without delay despite the weather, and so to avoid dangers from enemy submarines and other causes involved in waiting outside.

The radio direction finder has done much to destroy the dangers from fog, and in so doing to remove one of the terrors of the sea.

During the summer of 1921 the Norwegian steamer *Onataneda* was in distress off Newfoundland. By wireless she gave her supposed position by "dead reckoning," but this was wrong by ninety miles. Only one ship, the *Fanad Head,* among several that received her message was able to find her, and this was because the *Fanad Head* had a direction finder which gave the true position. Those on board the *Onataneda* owe their lives to this.

On another occasion in 1921 a vessel only fourteen

miles away from a wrecked ship received a distress call but lacked a radio direction finder. She hunted for ten hours, and at last arrived too late to save lives which could have been preserved had the location of the wreck been known promptly.[1]

From sea to fish is a natural transition. My friend Dr. Hugh M. Smith, then Commissioner of Fisheries, had a sheaf of wonderful fish stories. He could tell of fishes he had seen climbing trees and leaping among the rocks on shore! Soberly he avowed these things to be true, and so no doubt they were. But in the days of war the Fisheries Service was about more serious business, for there was a shortage of food in the land, You, as you read, will recall the meatless and the wheatless days; but there was never occasion for fishless days. During all that time there was an abundance of good cheap sea food unused and all but unknown. The Fisheries Service undertook to introduce this food supply to the public, but the public is quite sure that what it does not eat is not good to eat, and a great deal of education was needed.

The subject of unused foods is a large one, and there can, of course, be no disputing about tastes. The eggs that New York prefers do not appeal to Boston taste, and vice versa. Certain oysters rejected in America bring an extra price in France. Still, there were

[1] "Radio Fog Signals and Their Use in Navigation in Connection with the Radio Compass," by Geo. R. Putnam, Commissioner of Lighthouses, Department of Commerce, Government Printing Office, 1921.

wholesome foods that required only to be known to find use. Among these was the sea mussel.

The sea mussel was brought to public notice in unusual ways. A newspaper campaign had been carried on by the Bureau of Fisheries in Boston to introduce sea mussels as food, and several hotels had placed them on their bills of fare, but they were not reaching the general public. It then occurred to the officer in charge to start with the firemen and policemen. The Fire Chief objected, but the Chief of Police, who had been recommended as "hard boiled," said, "Are they poisonous?" Upon being told that they are not, he said, "All I want you to do is to assure me that my police force will not get sick."

A barrel of mussels was then given to every police station in Boston and copies of a cook book showing different methods of cooking them, together with buckets for carrying home a supply, were furnished to each policeman. What might be called "government push carts" were supplied freely with mussels and were authorized to exhibit a special card saying that these were recommended for food by the U. S. Bureau of Fisheries. The novelty of this campaign appealed to the local papers, and with their renewed aid the new food soon came into such general use that serious inroads were made into the supply.

The same service introduced the travelling cook. An educated woman, Mrs. Spencer, with initiative and

with a gift for publicity, was employed to travel in the West with one or more assistants to demonstrate the value of fish food. She got in touch with women's clubs, home economics societies, and other organizations whose members came to her demonstrations. She cooked the fish before her audience and served it to them. Arrangements were made with local dealers to have on sale each day the fish she was to demonstrate, and her hearers on leaving would go directly to the dealer for a supply to prepare in their own homes. In this way she increased the sale of fish in St. Louis, as an example, by about 25 per cent.

When in Seattle I attended one of Mrs. Spencer's afternoon meetings and saw her cook and serve to a large number of interested women unfamiliar fish foods taken from the local waters and available at low cost.

A campaign which began in the East in October, 1915, to introduce the unknown tilefish, resulted in the sale during the year that ended June 30, 1917, of more than 11,500,000 pounds of this new food, which put into the fishermen's pockets in that period more than $475,000.

Many thousands of barrels of herring were caught annually in Alaska, but were used for fertilizer instead of food. The Fisheries Service introduced the Scotch method of curing herring for food at a cost of about $12,000 by employing two experts from Dundee to go to Alaska and explain the process. During 1917 and

1918 the Alaska pack of Scotch-cured herring was more than 45,000 barrels, the market value of which was more than $850,000.

Rescue work is usually understood to relate to unfortunate human beings, but in the Bureau of Fisheries it has a different meaning. There it signifies a function that earns many times its annual cost. Few private enterprises are run at such a profit.

The Mississippi River misbehaves in spring, as residents near it know to their cost. Its waters spread out far and wide over the adjacent country, and millions of fish go with them. Soon the stream subsides, and these fish are left to die as the shallow pools formed by the receding waters dry up or freeze. The Bureau sends out seining parties, which follow down the diminishing river and rescue the fish from the pools and either restore them to the stream or distribute them to other waters. In 1919 more than 100,000,000 fish were thus saved. Twenty fish hatcheries could not produce fish equal in number and size to those thus rescued. Their cash value at the rate charged by commercial hatcheries for such fish exceeds the total appropriation of the Government for the fish cultural service.

With the end of military operations, Congress was seized with a fit of alleged economy. Work begun during the war, however useful in peace or profitable to the country, was thrown into the discard with a recklessness equalled only by the wild charges of extravagance

that were current. Those infantile mental processes which assumed a saving from every appropriation that was omitted found their full expression in law. With the hope of bringing this wasteful policy to public notice I addressed the following letter to a friend connected with a great New York newspaper:

Personal *June 26, 1919.*

My dear Mr. McAneny:

Pursuing the general thought you and I have discussed at times, let me suggest a line of information all but untouched by the press. Indeed, so far as my knowledge goes, it is quite untouched for I recall no printed statement dealing with the facts involved.

We read in your morning edition that such an appropriation bill, sundry civil, legislative, etc., has been presented in the House with a reduction of such and such amounts from the estimates or from the previous measure, and the House leader will forthwith take to his party credit for economy because, forsooth, the simple act of addition shows the aggregate amount of the bill to be less than the estimates for the previous year. No one troubles to see how it is made less, what has happened to the work that was done, or was sought to be done. The act of omission is taken as sufficient and no one pries under the lid to see what was left out or why.

Let us look at three recent cases in my department:

(1) An item in the Bureau of Fisheries of $15,000 is omitted for instruction in the cooking and preparing of fish foods for use. It applies either to edible fishes not now used or to such as are used too little. This work, conducted by four persons, has meant the introduction of millions of pounds of new, cheap foods all along our Atlantic and Pacific coasts. . . . On the lowest ground of the production of wealth sold for cash,

this particular Service has paid its way manyfold. On the basis of placing large volumes of cheap food in active sale it has more than made good. Unfortunately, however, this work began during the war. Hence it is a war emergency work and it is stopped, though the facts are fully explained. I venture to think that if the people of the country knew that a definite effort by their government to provide large quantities of cheap food, which is ready at hand, had been stopped by Congress there would be some very interesting questions asked both of Representatives and Senators.

(2) We had a service called the Industrial Coöperation Service. Its duty was to help industries by doing away with industrial wastes, by utilizing by-products, by finding markets for materials now unused, and practically to make available products or materials now lost in connection with industry. It cost $50,000 a year. As one item it had developed that the dry husk of the cotton seed, usually thrown away, could be made an admirable binder for use in the manufacture of rubber shoe soles. This single thing produced values sufficient to pay, at one stroke, the cost of the Service for ten years. Many more similar instances could be cited. Unfortunately, though a peace work, it happened to be born during the war, hence it is a war emergency work and appropriation for it is refused. It is to stop.

(3) We had a Waste Reclamation Service. A peace work but, again, born during war times. It cost $25,000 a year, or a bit less. In one month it arranged for better methods of selling of waste paper collected through the Public Printer in such a way that an actual added revenue of over $50,000 a year in cash was gained for the Government. Other such cases could be cited. This, too, is destroyed.

In all these cases the force is disintegrated, the experts scattered. We are notified to vacate the space they occupied. And this is done on the ground of economy.

Speaking as a business man and as a taxpayer, I can imagine few things more wasteful than this process. The total amount involved in the three items mentioned is about $90,000 per annum. The annual return in actual property to the country, or in cash revenue to the Government itself amounts to many millions. I think it more than probable that other Departments could show a similar record. . . . The Members of the House and Senate can deal with the facts which are before them. It is not so easy to deal with those which are omitted, and in the absence of the right on the part of the responsible executive officers to be heard before the legislature as a whole, a few men can and do control their work not only to its detriment but at times, I fear, to the detriment of the whole country.[1]

Yours very truly,

WILLIAM C. REDFIELD.

MR. GEORGE MCANENY,
New York *Times*,
NEW YORK, N. Y.

It is of official record that our demonstrator had shown how to get a dinner for four persons at a cost of twenty-five cents, or two meals for forty cents, despite the war prices. But it all went by the board, a victim to that partisan passion for visible saving which often costs so much behind the scenes.[2]

It was normal to these conditions that a new laboratory of the Bureau of Fisheries erected during the war to study and develop food products was refused an appropriation for its operation.[3]

1*Cf.* Report of Secretary of Commerce, 1919, pp. 69-75 inclusive.

2*Cf* House Doc. 155, 66th Congress, 1st Session, "Methods of Preparing and Cooking Fish."

3*Cf.* Hearing Sundry Civil Bill, 1920, p. 627, before sub-committee of House Committee on Appropriations.

But it is time to come back to Washington during the war. There over the Commerce Building flew our service flag marked "1824." That was our contribution of personnel to the military forces. Just across the Atlantic horizon sixty of our ships were in the naval service—fifty of them lighthouse steamers equipped for mine-laying. They were used also for setting and removing nets and, the naval authorities said, were indispensable in that work. Few men know the coasts as well as do the officers of lighthouse tenders. It is their specialty to operate in the dangerous places, and the knowledge and skill thus acquired had great value in the war. One of our surveying ships, the *Isis,* was a flagship in New York Harbour; one, the *Dixie,* was a despatch boat in Hampton Roads. A fisheries steamer, the *Halcyon,* had a perfect record as a patrol vessel off the New England coast in the winter of 1917–18. The lighthouse depot at Tompkinsville, New York Harbour, was headquarters of the local naval division which used our docks, shops, and buildings throughout the war. A similar use was made by the Navy of our Fisheries Station and laboratory at Beaufort, N. C. Many of the lighthouse stations all along the Atlantic coast were made observation points for the Navy. Over in the War Department were fifty of our Census clerks supervising the tabulation of the registration of fighting men. Up at the Naval Observatory our Coast Survey scientific officers replaced the absent naval staff.

Others of them were navigating officers at sea, for this one bureau gave more than eighty commissioned officers to the Army and Navy. Its head was a colonel in France, and its chief geodetic engineer was there also as a major.

The clerical forces in all the various offices were doing their part also—men and women alike. They purchased among them more than $3,500,000 worth of our war securities. A great deal of overtime work was done voluntarily without hope of extra compensation, and frequently offers made by outside business concerns for employment at higher salaries were refused. Of course, there was trouble holding our force together, for the men wanted to fight, but meanwhile the war pressure on us grew tremendously and most of our regular work had to go on. We had men with scientific training detailed from the Army to help us, and we sought women trained in science from the women's colleges. In our laboratories the scientific staff rose in a year from 470 to 935.

Going one day into the experimental woollen mill which we were operating for research in materials for uniforms, blankets, and the like, I found a young man in the uniform of a private. He seemed unusually competent, and in conversation showed both practical and scientific familiarity with the work. I asked him what he was doing when he was draughted. He replied: "I was assistant superintendent of the —— Com-

pany," naming one of the largest textile manufacturing concerns of the country.

Another time, when looking over the laboratories, I entered a room where something was making a terrific racket, and went to see what it was all about. An odd figure stood by a bench near a window which at first glance appeared to be a brown truncated cone with a ball at the top, lacking human semblance. I went over to this object. It moved, and when I got near enough to inspect it closely it laughed. Then I saw it was one of the college women we had employed as physicists. She was clad in a brown garment which reached from neck to heels with a hood over her head and gloves on her hands. Little of her face was visible until you squarely faced her. She was working over a machine which made the noise I had heard. She said it was an "interrupted stress machine" by which she was determining the nature of material to be used in airplane motor shafts. There she was, eager and interested, working away in her queer garments, doing her part to make airplane motors safe. Doubtless many a man flying over the fields of France was more secure because of this girl's work.

I am tempted to tell of the marvellous sound-ranging instrument with which the location of distant enemy guns was fixed with astonishing precision. Our fine young scientist, Captain Ernest Weibel, who developed it, entered the Army to put his invention into

actual use at the front. He was killed in so doing—a serious loss to us.

Our staff employed in testing gauges rose in a year from one man working part time to eighty-nine full-time workers occupying a special building with a fully equipped instrument shop. This work of testing gauges is one of the most fundamental and exacting tasks in connection with war materials. Accuracy of fire and safety of firing, together with the durability of guns, depend on it. By April of 1918 the work so progressed that we were testing 5,000 gauges a month for Army and Navy.

We tested high-speed stop watches for timing projectiles, the hands of the watches showing readings of one fiftieth and one one hundredth of a second. There was also the invention of the decremeter, the development of special cameras, of airplane instruments, of the geophone, and other devices, but it would be unfair to those who have followed me thus far to inflict upon them what might seem a catalogue of tasks.

As time went on the war came closely home to us. Gold stars appeared on our service flag. A submarine sank our lightship off the North Carolina coast, fortunately without loss of life. An officer of our Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce was thrown into prison in Russia by the Bolsheviki and barely escaped alive. The working force gave itself generously, not only in daily toil and in support of Liberty Loans, but

in service in Y.M.C.A., Y.W.C.A., the Knights of Columbus, the Red Cross, and in many private activities. There was no complaint at the pressure of departmental work, though it was at times severe. The response of our force to every call was given, as my letter to them of September 28, 1918, says, "not grudgingly, but with cheer, ready, willing, rejoicing in the high duty to which they are called."

CHAPTER XI

A PEACE DEPARTMENT IN WAR TIME (*continued*)

The detailed record of our departmental war work lies before me—not complete, but it covers more than three hundred closely printed pages. Further account of it, therefore, must be limited. Yet a little of the story of the Liberty motor must be told, though justice to that theme would require a book. Before doing so, be it said that this is written after many years' experience with the production of dies, tools, and fixtures for making parts of machinery and small engines. I am familiar with design and working drawings and have long operated gasoline motors on sea and land and know their construction and use. Lieutenant Harold H. Emmons, who had charge of factory production of the Liberty engine, has kindly supplied much of the following account, which has in its substance been approved by my former associate, Dr. S. W. Stratton, now president of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

The designing and building of the Liberty airplane motor was one of the finest achievements of American history, unequalled of its kind in the engineering history

of our own or any other land. The story is one of self-sacrifice, of voluntary surrender of personal and corporate interest to the public weal. The men who did this marvellous work deserve well of the Republic. This is true, the voluble experts in Congress, in other public stations or in editorial chairs to the contrary notwithstanding.

Few realized more bitterly the meaning of the word "unpreparedness" than those men whose duty it was to carry on the war with Germany when in the spring of 1917 they undertook that task. The United States was confronted with a multitude of new problems, among them that of establishing an air service. Neither Army nor Navy had any appreciable experience in designing, producing, or using aëronautical equipment. The total number of airplanes that the Army had owned and operated prior to 1917 was 142, and many of these had been destroyed. They were primitive; not one of them possessed the elements essential to a fighting plane. Industry in this country was deficient in knowledge and experience. There was no person in the land experienced in designing or producing an airplane, a motor, or the equipment for a plane capable of maintaining itself in the aërial battles then being waged on the western front. Therefore a commission representing Army, Navy, and civilian industry was sent to Europe in May, 1917, to choose the types of aëronautical equipment that we should build. We knew this study would

take many weeks or months; we also knew America could not stand idle awaiting the decision. The Germans would not wait.

The most important and the most difficult item in aviation is the engine. The European Allies then had in use or in development for use eighty-three different kinds of engines. It was clear that America, three thousand miles away, could not maintain in Europe either the skilled men or the extra parts requisite to the use of more than one or two types of engines. We were offered almost every one of the European types, but attached to each was a demand for a large royalty (sometimes many millions). None of these foreign engines had a capacity adequate to the rapidly growing requirements for increased power; even the largest Rolls-Royce was inferior in weight and power. It was not suited to the utilization of interchangeable parts produced in large quantities by special tools and fixtures fitted to machine tools in the usual American way. These facts and the business restrictions with which its owners surrounded it made its use impossible for us.

Colonel A. E. Deeds and Colonel S. D. Waldon, who were then organizing the Army Air Service, correctly decided that the engineering ability of the United States should be used to design and construct one all-American engine which could be built in units of two cylinders, the duplication of which would produce en-

gines of any power. Uniform spare parts would provide for upkeep. The fliers and mechanics could then have their preliminary and graduate training upon an engine and parts of one type only, which they would thereafter operate on the fighting front. Every producing mechanic knows that this provided the most effective production and operation.

Colonel Deeds called together J. G. Vincent, engineer of the Packard Motor Car Company, and E. J. Hall, engineer of the Hall-Scott Motor Company, of Berkeley, California, who were the two men with the most extensive experience in the United States in quantity production of high-power internal-combustion engines. Locking himself with them in his apartment in the New Willard Hotel, Colonel Deeds announced that they would stay there until the original design of the new engine should be completed.

Pause a moment to realize the situation that faced them in that locked room and try to see what they saw —our utter, utter need; outside the clamorous crowd of royalty seekers vigorously, some venomously, urging their unsuitable wares; on yonder Capitol Hill an ignorantly enthusiastic Congress, patriotically eager to act, to and through whom our helplessness must not be revealed; "over there" the enemy, knowing the value of time as well as we and taking every possible advantage of it.

We had just completed a building for a new chemical

laboratory at the Bureau of Standards and had not yet moved into it. We turned over a large part of this structure to draughtsmen working on the new engine. The design drawings were sent to them as fast as approved. A fixed rule of this design was that every component part of this new engine must have been a proved success on some other high-powered engine—in other words, nothing experimental could be included. A second set of draughtsmen occupied the entire draughting department of the Packard Motor Car Company in Detroit; by both groups the detailed drawings were speedily made. These were submitted to a group of able engineers, manufacturers, and tool designers in order that the practical problems always incident to making mechanical parts requiring accurate workmanship might be solved before production began.

The result of this combination of talent and of this unusual foresight in preparation was that no change in the fundamental design of the engine was necessary during the entire period of its production. It functions to-day over land and sea unchanged in any essential feature, having outlived those who were ignorantly clamorous respecting its alleged demerits. This fact of correct design speaks volumes to any one familiar with machine construction.

Production of the first sample engine was intrusted to the Packard Motor Car Company, since this company had been giving time and money without stint

for nearly two years to the design of a high-power motor. Fortunately, Mr. Hall had equipment available for making many of the parts of this engine, and the other elements were assigned to the tool shops and factories throughout the country that were best equipped to produce them. These concerns immediately gave this work the absolute right of way.

By this means such celerity and accuracy were attained that, although the preliminary design made in the New Willard Hotel was completed only on May 29, 1917, the first eight-cylinder engine was delivered complete in Washington on July 4th, and the first twelve-cylinder engine had successfully passed the fifty-hour test prescribed by the French Government as standard for the highest type of aviation engines on August 29, 1917.

These are unique facts. To make working drawings and construct such a new motor in thirty working days was a feat without precedent at that time, and one which it will be difficult to equal at any time. To design a new engine nearly or quite five times more powerful than its American predecessor, suited for an exacting duty under conditions where lightness and reliability were essential, and to build it so as to pass a severe test within three months—this is a record to bring honour to any designing and producing engineer.

Under usual circumstances in a first-class modern plant a year would not be deemed too long to bring

about so complete a result. I remember well that first eight-cylinder engine. It was simple, strong, compact, and yet wonderfully light—in every way a success and a great forward step. Aviation was advancing so fast that the equipment of one month was outgrown the next. So more power than the eight-cylinder developed was soon needed, and the twelve-cylinder—the identical engine, but with four more cylinders—was preferred.

This motor was christened the "Liberty" by Rear-Admiral D. W. Taylor, who was a member of the Aircraft Production Board. Six factories—the Packard, Lincoln, Ford, Cadillac, Buick, and Marmon Motor Car Companies—were at once given contracts for making it, and the work of securing the necessary machine tools and small tools, jigs, fixtures, equipment, and gauges was started in practically every machine and tool shop in the United States. These six factories, whose methods of manufacture were unlike, were organized into one production plant under the control of James G. Heaslet, formerly vice-president in charge of manufacturing of the Studebaker Corporation. Each plant and its organization gave to the others all of its expert knowledge and closely guarded formulas, and all the plants were so organized and equipped that the engine parts produced in them were interchangeable. In other words, from a pile of parts gathered at random from these factories a Liberty motor could at

any time be constructed, and its repairs could be made with parts from any other plant.

The executives of these factories held frequent conferences to discuss manufacturing and metallurgical problems. Such coöperation among competitors to a common end has rarely, if ever, been equalled in the history of industry. The results were beyond all precedent and expectation. Twenty-two Liberty twelve-cylinder engines were made from the new special tools prepared for rapid production in December, 1917, and the output increased so rapidly that for six weeks before the armistice the daily output of completed engines was 110. With each engine were produced spare parts equal to half of a complete engine. Prior to the armistice more than 15,000 of these engines, each with its share of spare parts, had been delivered into service. The capacity of each engine was more than 400 horsepower, making a total in excess of 6,000,000 horsepower.

During the writing of this book and the preparation of the articles which preceded it, an absurd yarn has twice been brought to my attention to the substantial effect that few or no American-built airplanes were actually sent to France in time to be used in the war. This statement was publicly made to a group of former reserve officers who, it may be hoped, knew better than to take it seriously. The facts are that at the date of the armistice there were 667 American-built airplanes

in use at the fighting front. Two hundred and ninety-three more were in service in France at the A. E. F. training fields; 480 more were in reserve, making a total of 1,440 American-built planes that had been actually received in France. Six hundred and fifty-one more were on the sea, and 1,040 were at ports awaiting shipment or were in actual transit from our factories to ports. This is a total of 3,131 airplanes completed for service.[1]

The reliability of performance of the Liberty engines was acknowledged by the Allies early in 1918, and the orders offered by the English, French, and Italian governments were so large that to fill them would have left us too few motors for our own use. They were adopted by the Tank Corps for the large programme of tank construction projected by the English and American governments for use in 1919, and the Allies prior to the armistice were not only using these engines in their heavy carrying planes, but were designing their heavier aviation equipment to use them.

The record of performance of the Liberty motor is preëminent. It holds too many and too varied records to give them in detail here. They are stated from official sources in the appendix. It is the standard engine to-day of the Army, Navy, and Postal Service, and it is unexcelled, if equalled, in reliability and power of

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[1] *Cf.* "U. S. Army Aircraft Production Facts," by Col. C. W. Mixter, A.S.A.P. and Lieut. H. H. Emmons, U.S.N.R.F. U. S. Govt. Printing Office, January, 1919.

performance. It is used extensively in the British Army Air Service in the Far East, for its standardized parts by which repairs can be quickly made at distant points commend its use to other nations. Fokker, the German builder of airplanes, ordered fifteen Liberty engines in April, 1923, and esteems them highly.

The wonderful record of the design, production, and capacity of this engine was well called by the British aviation leaders "America's outstanding industrial achievement of the war."

The Liberty engine with its auxiliary apparatus was tested, as were other airplane engines, in a special altitude chamber which we built for the purpose at the Bureau of Standards. I was continuously aware of the progress made and repeatedly saw the testing in process. The altitude chamber was so arranged that air pressures and temperatures could be created and maintained in it under conditions similar to altitudes up to 40,000 feet. This was an important factor in developing the engine. Every phase of the engine—its material, construction, and operation—was exhaustively tested in the laboratories of the Department of Commerce. We were constantly in touch with the work and had European engines, including German ones, for comparison. It was quiet, effective, devoted, unselfish, and, in no small part, unpaid work.

Meanwhile the dogs howled outside. How they did bark! I can hear them still, yelping in helpless rage.

The disappointed seekers after large royalties vied with congressional mechanics in one common and loud chorus of dispraise. The quickest and best performed task of its kind in the world's industrial history was all too slow and too poorly done to suit the political engineers. The rapid advance of military aviation required that the power of the Liberty engine should be increased, "stepped up," several times before it went into actual service. Its design expressly provided for this, for it had been anticipated. Nevertheless, the chorus of wails was loud and long and condemnations filled the air. The enemy received effective aid from high-speed partisan orators in our own land. The sky has cleared now. The critics are forgotten except as public nuisances. The Liberty engine remains the finest achievement of its kind.

It should make us thoughtful to recall the attempts that were made to throw the shadow of shame over the men that did this great work. They were attacked by public charge and private innuendo. Their work was constantly interrupted by investigations that were instigated by selfishness and disappointment and carried on by men incapable of understanding the mechanical and industrial problems involved. Colonel Deeds himself was recommended for court martial. An official board of inquiry took the recommendation under careful review and all the pertinent facts were laid before them. On thorough and candid examination they failed

to sustain the recommendation and the matter was dropped. It is no part of the present theme to trace the history of the varied misunderstandings which led to the attacks on men whose only reward could have been heartfelt public praise, for they had sacrificed both themselves and their fortunes in the public service.

Let it be sufficient to say that they served well and deserved better of their country than that country in the stress and excitement of war gave to them. Each year that passes will surely remove some of the mist that has obscured the real brilliancy of their achievement.

Passing to other subjects, the records of the Lighthouse Service contain a curious story which illustrates how puzzling or even deceptive a partial statement may be, even if accurate in details. It appears that a certain post-lightkeeper in the Mississippi Valley, whose pay was ten dollars per month, subscribed to and paid for Liberty Bonds to the value of $250,000. This seems to put a somewhat startling emphasis on the possibilities of thrift until explained, or rather completed. The person who performed this extraordinary feat of finance was, however, the president of a bank in Memphis, Tennessee. He had a plantation on the Mississippi River at a point where a post-light was required to guide vessels. Since the law forbade our using unpaid labour, his services were engaged at the princely compensation stated and he no doubt turned it all over to

a coloured labourer on his plantation who attended to the post-light night and morning. Not less interesting and free from all possible doubt was the letter of an old lighthouse keeper who wrote that he and his wife had saved three hundred dollars, through years of frugal living on modest pay, to provide for their burial. They asked, however, that this sum, the entire savings of a lifetime, be put into Liberty Bonds. It was comforting to know that the security was ample.

At the time when the Fuel Administration had asked all our people to coöperate in saving gasoline by refraining from its use on Sunday, I chanced to be with my wife at the most prominent corner in New York, 5th Avenue and 42d Street, at about eleven o'clock on a fine clear Sunday morning. We stood amazed at that spot which usually throbs with life, for not one motor vehicle was in sight so far as one could see in either street. The vision ranged freely east, west, south, and north, but there was no movement. There could hardly have been a more impressive exhibition of the support which our people as a whole willingly gave to the Government in this effort to economize an indispensable fuel.

The purpose of the saving was to supply a need more serious than could then be revealed in detail. In December, 1917, the supply of gasoline available in France had fallen to twenty-five thousand tons, less than one month's consumption, a condition which was far below

the danger point. The emergency was urgent, little short of desperate. The man to deal with it was found in Mr. Alfred C. Bedford. He had brought together the competing and discordant elements comprising the petroleum industry of our country and with fine tact and energy had welded them into an effective war instrument. Through united action of men ordinarily the most implacable business rivals, harmonized under wise leadership, more than ninety thousand tons of gasoline were sent to France between Christmas, 1917, and the end of January, 1918—a little over one month. The emergency passed and with its passage the service of the man who really worked wonders was all but forgotten at home. Not so abroad. National thanks and public acknowledgments came from our European associates. The French officially stated "one of the men who did the most in giving us that wonderful ascent toward victory was our friend, Mr. Bedford." (This refers to the use of motor trucks which made it possible to save Verdun.) He was made a Chevalier of the Legion of Honour "in recognition of the great services he rendered." The British Naval Attaché, "on behalf not only of the British Embassy but also on behalf of the British Navy," expressed "appreciation of the great services rendered by Mr. Bedford," saying that "in the absence of petroleum 48 per cent. of the British Navy would have been paralyzed" and that the keeping of that navy in active service, not to speak of

airplanes, "has been possible largely by the instrumentality of Mr. Bedford and his committee." He added that "the winning of the war depended to a large extent on the winning of oil by Mr. Bedford, and his name will for all time remain on the honour list of civilians who have taken a leading and direct part in the achievement of victory." Only America, where the work was done and whose citizens did it, was silent. The services of Mr. Bedford were brought formally to the notice of our government under the administrations of both President Wilson and President Harding, but without effect in securing for him the official thanks he so well deserved. Others, whose service, though excellent, was scarcely of such salient value, received due rewards because they could be in a technical sense associated with the military services. Mr. Bedford, who greatly served as a private citizen, was refused the acknowledgment due him for reasons which, however legally correct, are unworthy of a generous people.

I found it natural, having forbears who were steamboat operators, naval engineers, or seamen, to consider how the waterways of the country could be used to assist in transportation during and after the war. Competition had evolved the former steamboat traffic on our great central river system almost out of existence. A few barges with an occasional tow or an old-style steamboat were all that remained to recall an era which had left great traditions and little else.

Mr. John H. Bernard, a navigation engineer from Holland, had developed in 1911 a fleet of steel self-propelled barges for use on the Warrior River—New Orleans Service. He went with one of these from New Orleans to St. Paul and back and later built another barge for use on the Mississippi River itself. General and local organizations throughout the Mississippi Valley had continued to agitate for the use of the river, but without visible results. Millions had been spent on the Ohio, Missouri, and Mississippi, but those rivers still ran unvexed to the sea so far as any considerable navigation of them was concerned.

When we entered the war, President Wilson desired the inland waterways used to the fullest possible extent to relieve the railroads and to augment permanently the transportation facilities of the country. Mr. Walter Parker, general manager of the New Orleans Association of Commerce, was summoned to Washington and made Assistant to the Secretary of Commerce for inland water transportation. At his suggestion the policy was adopted of presenting to the people of the great interior valleys the importance of their joining in a demand for the completion of the approved inland channel projects and for federal action looking to the creation of barge lines to demonstrate the practical economy of inland transportation by water, provided vessels of the right type were used.

Mr. Parker carried this message with success to the

people of all the great regions where there are waterways. He addressed more than one hundred gatherings and published many special articles. Out of his work grew the Mississippi Valley Association.[1] Hundreds of chambers of commerce, waterway associations, and similar bodies joined at a meeting in Washington in a demand for federal barge lines on the Mississippi and Warrior rivers. The Railroad Administration, with the approval of President Wilson, took up the matter. With the coöperation of Major-General W. M. Black, Chief of Engineers, U. S. A., and chairman of the Inland Waterways Committee of the Council of National Defense, special steel barges and towboats were designed and constructed. General Black and the officers of his corps were invaluable in the planning and the prosecution of the work, as a result of which the barge line on both rivers is now in profitable operation.

In the fall of 1917 an experimental trip down the Mississippi was made with a group of barges carrying something like 11,000 tons of iron ore for furnaces at St. Louis. I remember very well going up the river from that city to meet the tow, boarding it, and entering the port of St. Louis upon it. The steamer then lent by the U. S. Engineer Corps for a towboat was of too

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1 *Cf.* "Inland Water Transportation," report of Walter Parker, Assistant to Secretary of Commerce for Inland Water Transportation, Dept. of Commerce, Office of Secretary, U. S. Govt. Printing Office, 1917.

deep draught for the upper river and had difficulties at shallow places, but the possibility was demonstrated of using the river from St. Paul to St. Louis to transport heavy cargoes economically with barges and steamers of suitable type.

Meanwhile the city of New Orleans has enormously increased its harbour facilities and throughout the river valleys, wharves and appliances necessary for water transportation have rapidly developed. Early in 1923 a fleet of river barges loaded with steel for export from Pittsburgh arrived at the port of New Orleans—the first of what may prove a long series. The attitude of some railway managers toward the interior waterways has already changed and others are coming to see that there will be need, as the country grows, for every means of transportation that can be had. There is a trinity in transportation, *viz.:* the railway, the waterway, and the highway, and in any large view of the subject each of these is the friend and ally of the others.

In September of 1918 the Department formally recommended to the Senate the ownership and operation by the Government of the Atlantic coastal canals from North Carolina to New England, with the certainty that adequate and efficient vessels can now be provided for their use. The development of the internal combustion marine engine has made possible the economical use of waterways which have hitherto

been unavailable, because of the more efficient mechanism that can now be used in that method of transportation. Already new life has come to moribund canals and unused rivers through the adaptation of this new motor to the conditions necessary for their navigation.

CHAPTER XII

PORK AND THE PRESS

THE mail brought a friendly note from the editor of one of our best-known reviews. "Thanks," said he, "for the article of which proof goes to you for revision." I replied, "Not guilty," but awaited the proof.

When it came I found before me the product of a strange industry—that of producing synthetic literature. I learned that authorship is of two kinds—voluntary and involuntary—and that my editor friend had paid $25 for a specimen of the latter. The article bore, indeed, my name, but the proof sheets were my first knowledge of it. I read and re-read it, finding some passages familiar, others strange, but at last, with my secretary's aid, the parentage of this literary foundling became clear. Someone had dissected an assorted lot of my speeches and out of such fragments as served his purpose had built up an article, filling the chinks with cementing passages of the vendor's own manufacture. The constructing mechanic had added my name and sold the product for cash in advance. This one was not printed, but others were, and when the producer was interviewed he not only admitted the facts but con-

tended that his business was legitimate and that the use of my name was proper. On that subject we permanently disagreed.

With a curious assumption similar to that which regards a man successful in one phase of life as an authority on all other phases, the cabinet member is requested to write or speak on themes as varied as relativity and soap. Some measure of yielding to these expectations is more or less *de rigueur*. All this is of the open or voluntary type of speech or authorship. When it has progressed a while, the other variety appears. I do not know how far my colleagues experienced this involuntary authorship, but it happened five times to me; and even the women of the cabinet circle were not wholly exempt, for in at least one case a special article appeared in an important daily to the entire surprise of the alleged authoress.

When an Administration has lasted eighteen months, Washington correspondents apparently become victims of an hallucination that cabinet resignations must be impending. Certainly a friend of mine who represented one of the metropolitan journals got some such delusion. His resistance to the idea was very low and he quite failed to overcome the infection. Three times at least he wrote that I had resigned, and it became a nuisance. I sent for him and we had a frank talk. He was sincerely reluctant to believe that his delusion was malefic, but he never said where he caught it. We

compromised on the understanding that when I really did resign I would let him know, and we parted friends. This was several years before such action was even considered.

It seems to be a fault of democracy that people lend a ready ear to charges against their public servants without making any effort to learn the truth, and even without reflecting that the matter may have two sides. The following correspondence speaks for itself:

To the Editor of *Public Ledger*.

Sir:

With the coming of spring the season of steamboat excursions approaches and the memory of the *Eastland* disaster is refreshed. In spite of Secretary Redfield's definite promises to the people of Chicago, there has been no adequate federal investigation of that slaughter of merrymakers.

The prospect is that in the coming summer Inspector-General Uhler will remain in office as head of the Federal Steamboat Inspection Service under Secretary Redfield. Inspector-General Uhler occupied the same extraordinarily responsible position at the time of the *Slocum* disaster. He has been retained throughout the period in which 31 boats on the Great Lakes have disappeared with all on board and without investigation. A complete list of the names of the 31 lost vessels can be had from Victor Olander, editor of the *Seamen's Journal*, 570 West Lake Street, Chicago, Ill.

The interest of the National Consumers' League in the matter is that passengers bear the same relation to excursion steamboat companies which customers bear to a merchant when they buy gloves or shoes. Neither merchants nor excursion

steamboat companies can subsist without customers. In both cases alike the individual is in great measure at the mercy of unfaithful officials, and in the case of excursion boats Inspector-General Uhler's activities, or inactivities, have been, in the belief of this organization, responsible for truly appalling loss of life.

FLORENCE KELLEY,
General Secretary,
National Consumers' League.

NEW YORK, *March 29, 1916.*

The paper which printed the above made no known effort to learn the facts. On reading the letter I wrote as follows:

April 4, 1916.

DEAR MADAM:

In a letter purporting to bear your signature printed in the Philadelphia *Public Ledger* of April 3rd are these words:

"He (General Uhler) has been retained throughout the period in which 31 boats on the Great Lakes have disappeared with all on board and without investigation. A complete list of the names of the 31 lost vessels can be had from Victor Olander, editor of the *Seamen's Journal*, 570 West Lake Street, Chicago, Ill."

This is a serious charge. You appear to assume its truth. In an ancient Book it is written: "Doth our law judge any man before it hear him?" Have you inquired of the Department of Commerce whether this statement is true or false, and before making this serious charge against a public officer, did you permit him to say aught for himself?

From another source this statement was repeated to me a few days ago with inquiry as to its truth. I replied that it was a flat falsehood.

Permit me to hand you copy of letter addressed to the gentleman whom you name and to say that this Department has nothing whatever to conceal in the *Eastland* matter. All its records are open to you or to any one else interested. It is courteously submitted, however, that even a public officer is entitled to have the truth told about him, all of it, without concealment or evasion.

Finally permit me to hand you copy of the decision of Justice Sessions of the United States District Court for the Western District of Michigan, Southern Division, and to commend same to your careful reading.[1]

Let me add that this letter is written without the knowledge or request of General Uhler in any way.

Yours very truly,
WILLIAM C. REDFIELD,
Secretary.

MRS. FLORENCE KELLEY,
General Secretary,
National Consumers' League,
NEW YORK, N. Y.

No reply was made to this letter. The officer attacked continues to hold the important post in which I found and left him. The critic, however, did not confine herself to one paper. She wrote also to the *Outlook,* and there encountered an editor who was peculiar in the respect that he thought it wise to inquire into the facts before printing. On March 29, 1916, he wrote to me for information. I replied at length on April 1st, saying: "Any and all facts respecting the *Eastland*

[1] *Cf.* House Document 814, 64th Congress, 1st Session.

disaster are at your disposal," and sent three documents covering the subject fully, among them the decision of Justice Sessions, to which reference is made above and which fully exonerated the two steamboat inspectors who had been charged with negligence. I wrote to him:

It is a flat falsehood to say that "during Inspector-General Uhler's term of office 31 boats on the Great Lakes have disappeared with all on board and without investigation. Your unnamed correspondent is challenged to prove the truth of his statement.

Inspector-General Uhler is to remain in office during the coming season of steamboat excursions and has the full confidence of the Department. Nothing whatever reflecting upon him or his management of the Service, or upon the Service itself, has been shown by any testimony to exist in connection with the *Eastland* disaster. There has been from the beginning a campaign of mendacity on this subject which I hope, for the credit of our country, has not been equalled in the past and will not be in the future.

The *Outlook* did not print the attack, and so advised me on April 3d. The following brief letter closed the incident:

April 4, 1916.

My dear Mr. Abbott:

I thank you for your kind note of the 3d. I think your letter to which my last replied was the second case, certainly I remember no more than two, in which a newspaper or magazine has inquired as to the facts before discussing them. So

common has been the habit of criticism without knowledge that in more morbid moments I have evolved rules for current criticism running somewhat thus:

1. First make your criticism.
2. Then get your facts.
3. If they fail to sustain you, don't apologize.

To a citizen who is fond of his country and wishes her well, the extent to which the rules are put into practice is appalling. I congratulate you upon being a marked exception.

Yours very truly,
WILLIAM C. REDFIELD,
Secretary.

MR. ERNEST H. ABBOTT,
The Outlook Company,
381 FOURTH AVENUE,
NEW YORK, N. Y.

I have acquired a strong distaste for what I call the hundred-per-cent. reformer. He wants his particular pet reform all at once and now, and sometimes becomes so obsessed in favour of a special kind of righteousness as to do evil in seeking it. As Mr. Glenn Frank wisely says, "The trouble with the uplifters is that they are not the people who are uplifting the world."

This reminds me—just why, I am not sure, but it does—of a certain type of writer. Perhaps the reminder lies in the fact that he also is quite willing to be unfair, or even slanderous, if he can only "get the story over." Such a one, for example, exploits his views through so-called "Mirrors," forgetful that mirrors reflect the author also. The word "cynic" has an unlovely

history. Certain ill-tempered, pessimistic philosophers of old Athens were likened to the scavenger dogs of the ancient town by calling them *kunikos—i.e.,* doglike. The world is a direct survival, as some cynics seem to be.

It is, perhaps, smart to describe public men in pithy, flippant phrases, assuming intimate knowledge of low motive and selfish purpose. Whether smart or not, it is superficial and ephemeral, and it reflects, not penetration, but a shallow mentality. When in an alleged study of public men no generous motive is discerned and no worthy purpose is admitted, one revolts from the book because of its low ethical and intellectual value, understanding that the writer would probably be unable to recognize a lofty ideal if he encountered one. Too many facile writers let their pens run on this low level of flippancy, content to display a puerile pseudo-wisdom in tickling the degraded mental palates of those who prefer to think ill of their fellows.

The cynic, however, is not new, no matter how modern his methods. There are classic examples in our history of abuse poured upon men of lofty character. Thus: "The consecrated ermine of Presidential Chastity seems too foul for time itself to bleach." "The man who is the source of all the misfortunes of our country . . . is no longer possessed of power to multiply evils upon the United States." "Nefarious projects can no longer be supported by a name." This and

more of the kind were visited upon George Washington.

"Every heart," an editor wrote, "ought to beat high with exultation that the name of Washington from this day ceases to give a currency to political iniquity and to legalize corruption." These attacks hurt. Washington called them grossest and insidious misrepresentations in such exaggerated and indecent terms as could scarcely be applied to a Nero, a notorious defaulter, or a common pickpocket. The editor is forgotten, and so will his following be, while the name and fame of Washington shine brighter as the years pass.

One does not work long in the national capitol without learning of certain myths in which our friends of the press seem to take joy. This current newspaper mythology deeply tinges editorial philosophy—no, that is not put strongly enough—our editors regard these myths as axioms, and constant repetition has given them wide acceptance. Yet they are like false gods, unreal and worshipped only in blindness. Shall we examine some of them? Here are four:

1. The rivers and harbours appropriations are the well-known "pork-barrel."

2. The executive departments are chiefly responsible for government extravagance.

3. A budget causes government thrift and means financial saving.

4. Government operations are wasteful and do not

compare favourably in economy and efficiency with similar private or corporate activities.

To a greater or less degree each of these is of accepted belief. They are directly or by inference proclaimed by press and platform. None of them will endure searching examination without serious modification.

There is not even a colour of truth in the statement, so oft repeated, that there is "pork" in river and harbour appropriations. Editors put it forth, not knowing what they say. Nay, more, "It can be stated positively that for the past twenty years there has been no such thing as 'pork' in the river and harbour bills."

Wait, wait a moment, my editor friends, before you speak. These words are not mine, though I indorse them. They are the statement of Major-General Lansing H. Beach, Chief of Engineers, United States Army, written on February 19, 1923. He ought to know; he spends the money. He is very positive about it, for he says again, "There is no 'pork' in the methods of the present day of securing appropriations for rivers and harbours." What a glorious "beat" it would be for a bright editor to prove him wrong. How he would "heat it up," following such a noble "lead" from an enterprising correspondent. But really, dear editor friends, would it not be well to cease looking backward on this subject?

For a progressive profession occupied by supposed leaders of opinion, is it not almost scandalous to be twenty years behind the times? But you are so on this subject, many if not most of you, for the Chief of Engineers writes: "There has been a great deal of ignorant attack—and anything which would tend to place the truth before the public would be deeply appreciated." Look into the facts yourselves, and then, remembering that honest confession is good for the soul, do own up and reform. Twenty months would be backward for an editor, but twenty years!

Can it, indeed, be possible, dear editors, that this is news to you? I fear so, for as I write—lo! an editorial in a great New York City daily telling the same old yarn. Please, good friends, read Section 3 of the Act of June 13, 1902, then send a competent man, one who lives in the present, to ask the Chief of Engineers, United States Army, how it is done. Or take him these words over his signature which lie before me: "No case has yet occurred in the twenty years since this method was adopted where Congress has made an appropriation for any waterway which received an unfavourable report from the army engineers."

Does he tell the truth, or do you, dear editors? If he does not, show him up. It would be a rare "story" to expose him, for he is surely the pork-maker, if there is one. But if he does tell the truth, will you tell your readers plainly just how carefully these expenditures

are safeguarded, for, after years of misinformation, they surely would like to know the facts.

Finally, dear Rip Van Winkle editors, do you not recall writing in your dream some careless words about pork in particular relation to a recent appropriation for rivers and harbours? You did write them, many of you, just out of old habit, without looking at the bill and not being fully awake. Here is the exact language of the law under the heading "Rivers and Harbours," page 48 of Act approved March 2, 1923 (H.R. 13793, Public No. 465, 67th Congress):

> To be immediately available and to be expended under the direction of the Secretary of War and the supervision of the Chief of Engineers: for the preservation and maintenance of existing river and harbour works, and for the prosecution of such projects heretofore authorized as may be most desirable in the interests of commerce and navigation—$56,589,910.

That is all there is of it. Congress does not order specific work done; it orders a survey, and if the survey brings an unfavourable report, there the matter drops. Of course, if in any project the army engineers have erred, you should tell us about it, for that will do them good and us no harm and will show that you are alive. But otherwise, good friends, please give us something more up to date than palæozoic mournings over pork where it is not. Between ourselves, there is pork to be found—not back in the carboniferous era, but to-day,

just over yonder in not remote relation to public buildings. One suspects that the wily seekers after pork in that direction are glad to have you keep up a smoke screen about rivers and harbours between the public and the reality. There may be sound reason for criticizing the overriding of the budget, but this must have another basis than imaginary pork where there is no pork and in ignoring it where it really exists.

But we turn to our second myth about those hungry departments so often said to be the source of extravagance. The admirable work of Secretary Mellon and the normal post-war reduction in expenses have made large savings in our annual outlay. The Budget Law promotes coöperation between the departments, which takes the place of a rigid and at times almost a hostile attitude. Under General Dawes's wise direction, official accounting systems have been greatly improved. The interchange of supplies and equipment between the departments which the budget permits is an important gain. To these has been added a good reduction in current expenses—not much, indeed, in proportion to our whole outlay, but still a handsome sum. So far as this is really saved and not merely postponed, credit should be willingly given for it.

The final facts, however, do not yet appear, and it may take long to learn them. One may ask, in no censorious spirit, what is left undone and what are to be the consequences? What sacrifice is made for the saving,

and what is it to cost us? It was easy some years ago to refuse us a small appropriation to study the coastal currents of the Pacific; it was less pleasant and more costly to have a fine steamer go ashore later because these currents were unknown.[1] Failure to spend enough has usually meant greater future expense, and every industrial and railway officer knows that deferred maintenance is costly. On this subject bureau chiefs are better informed than budget chiefs.

Even an Executive (early in his term) and a Budget Director (with short Washington experience) accepted this second myth and acted upon it. Of course, the Director of the Budget is not responsible for what the press said of him, and it is the attitude of the press that now interests us. The luckless department officers were summoned to meet the "Hell and Maria" man face to face. Shall we let a current magazine tell what he did? Thus it spoke of the Budget Director:

> He crouched, he leaped, he glared, he bellowed. He flailed his arms and pounded his fists. More alarming, however, than his flying legs and clenched hands were his forks of vocal lightning and his blasts of oral thunder. "You cut!" he cried in substance: "and cut to the bone, or out you go."

Then, so it was written of these department officers: "Between sundown and sunrise, almost, they ceased to

[1] *Cf.* "The Neglected Waters of the Pacific Coast," Washington, Oregon, California, Dept. of Commerce, U. S. Coast and Geodetic Survey. Serial No. 81, Special Publication No. 48, U. S. Govt. Printing Office, 1918.

be gay prodigals and became serious-faced economists" (*sic*): the author was a little mixed on that last word. As a result our sapient writer adds: "There are to be no more demands for a million when a hundred thousand is plenty."

A writer in the daily press mentions, in referring to the same occasion, "that incandescent blasphemy that sent fiery shivers up the backs of the assembled bureau chiefs who wriggled beneath him." There appears to have been a hot time in the old town that night. All this is vivid, and in its bearing on the department officers as mendacious as amusing, for the Budget Director was rather loudly barking up the wrong tree. There were men in that audience who could have told him things he did not know. Some one of them would have spoken the simple truth had he then said: "Your purpose is laudable, but your emphasis is misdirected. Look not at us, but at the men on Capitol Hill. Ours is the lesser part; we have both done it and will continue to do it. Theirs is the greater part. Can you make them do it? Consider Bonus and Pension bills and be wise. Why make us the culprits when you know the greatest outlays are neither in our control nor yours?"

Was no editor possessed of sufficient knowledge of government affairs to discern truthfully on an occasion so widely reported and to guide public opinion by sound criticism? Was it not still true that the estimates pre-

pared by these alleged prodigals were signed by the department heads—that is, by the respective cabinet officers? I used to sign them, and supposed that in so doing I myself became responsible for them. I do not notice, however, that any cabinet officers got "Hell and Maria," but that may have been done in private.

Let me here testify to the direct opposite of the inference to be drawn from the preceding incident. I was associated for nearly seven years with a fine group of department officers, few of them of my own appointment, and during that time one of their serious burdens was to do with insufficient means the work which the public asked and Congress required. They saved wherever they could, and it is of public record that they returned to the Treasury every year unexpended balances from many appropriations. But of course there is no "news value" in that; no one bellows about it. There were at least several cases where under their guidance services returned annually to the country many times their cost in cash or direct money value, but this causes neither praise nor profanity.

Some, if not all, of these men were there that night listening to a needless exhortation. I knew other department officers in related services, and cannot say that one of them merited the generally expressed opinion about their extravagance. True, these men asked more and yet more funds in response to public demands, but never in excess of those needed to perform the work re-

quired of them, and usually they did not get enough for that.

The alleged relations between the departments and public extravagance is largely mythical, without sufficient basis in ascertained fact, and the current belief in it rests on that habit of ill-informed assertion that constitutes so much of our so-called criticism of public affairs. In all said about it there is an element of "passing the buck" to men whose mouths are officially closed, and who therefore cannot speak in their own defense.

The third and related myth concerns the power of a budget. Of course, we waited for our budget far too long, and now that we have it Congress may kick over the traces and does so, as in rivers and harbours. The budget is a worthy animal, but it cannot be the pack mule to carry the whole burden of public economy any more than the departments can. Moreover, a budget may be either economical or extravagant, and of itself alone has little intrinsic value. Its worth lies, not in its mere presence or in its form, but in the force of intelligent public opinion behind it. Our national budget cannot alter or even affect the huge items of interest on the public debt or the sinking fund to retire it, nor can it prevent the free action of Congress in making appropriations.

Thunder as they may, the budgeteers cannot restrain Congress from doing as it chooses about such matters

as bonus, pensions, parks, roads, monuments, public buildings, investigations, congressional salaries and expenses, etc. In brief, good and necessary as the budget is, its creation does not, as one editor writes, "mark an outstanding epoch in our history." Rather it is one more good working tool which did not prevent the passage of a bad Pension Bill (wisely vetoed), and does not affect the law requiring the Chief of Engineers to report annually in December the amounts which can be advantageously used during the coming year for river and harbour improvements. He did so report in December, 1922, and Congress acted on his report rather than the budget. The protective power of the budget has been overstated and overexpected by a press that is not well informed on the actual operations of the Government. The picturesque language and conduct of an able Budget Chief have been exploited; little has been done to lead the public mind to understand clearly what a budget can and cannot do.

Budgets come and budgets go, but public demands grow on for ever. We shall get public economy when Congress learns that wise expenditure is true economy. We shall get public thrift when the public wants thrift, and not before. Not in the departments, not in the Budget Bureau, not even in Congress lies the final responsibility. Are we ourselves economical? So will our government be. Are we ourselves extravagant? Our government reflects us. Thus far we, the public,

want thrift in principle, but when it comes close home we do not like it in practice. Rather we want spending for purposes that seem necessary for our business and other interests. So the Merchants' Association of New York says recently,[1] "The neglect of Congress to make adequate appropriation for the Postal Service and a large increase of business are putting a severe strain upon the existing postal facilities." Its Military Committee finds "the fundamental difficulty with the Veterans' Bureau is one which lies at the bottom of every attempt by . . . the Federal Government to administer a task of great complexity, namely, inadequate salaries to secure personnel of the necessary ability." Its Committee on Customs Service and Revenue Law reports "they found conditions in the Appraisers' Stores in a most unsatisfactory state due to insufficient number of employees." The Assistant Secretary of the Treasury "expressed entire sympathy" but pointed out that the appropriation was exhausted, that there was already a considerable deficit and that he could see no way in which the situation could be relieved. The committee concludes that "the appropriation for the following year for the Customs Service must be very largely increased."[2]

A Baltimore editor breaks out in alarm that the proposed action to halt government building "would cause

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1 *Cf.* "Greater New York," issue of July 9, 1923, p. 11.
2 *Ibid.*, June 25, 1923, pp. 8, 9, 10.

business men everywhere to halt," and the American Society of Safety Engineers calls for a Federal Safety Programme with an administrative body to enforce it. A group of industrial, scientific, commercial, and forestry organizations joins in an appeal for the restoration of an appropriation of $2,000,000 for the purchase of forest lands.[1]

Congress and departments are under continual pressure from a public which is always reaching out its hands for more. The bonus cry is but one part in a great chorus. A group of leading citizens from an Atlantic port desires a lightship off a certain bay. The Department knows that a lighted buoy is sufficient. The lightship may cost $100,000, and for maintenance needs a crew of fourteen men. The lighted buoy may cost $2,500 and needs no crew. The Department insists upon the buoy; the citizens are equally insistent upon the ship. Their Representative is earnest in supporting their demands.

Such cases are more than many—the Department resisting, the public insisting. But many of the demands made upon the Department are justified. Much of our public work is backward to a degree the public does not realize, and we suffer because this is so. For example, the primary surveys (triangulation) of the United States are only about 40 per cent. completed; those of India are about 95 per cent. completed. Will

1 *Cf.* "Greater New York," Issue of May 21, 1923, p. 25.

not our press cease "passing the buck" or proclaiming panaceas, and, instead of repeating bromidic myths, take the course of telling the truth about some service, *viz.:* what are the demands upon it; whence do they come; have they a sound basis; how are they to be met; and what are the results of failing to meet them? Intelligent criticism of this kind would aid the Service, assist the Budget Bureau, and be a check on Congress.

A fourth myth is that government operations are wasteful and compare poorly in economy and effectiveness with similar private or corporate activities. There is just enough of a half-truth in the statements thus summarized to create a substantial falsehood.

The Lighthouse Service of the United States is the largest and the best of its kind in the world. Its active scope extends from the central Pacific (Hawaii) to mid-Atlantic (Porto Rico) and reaches from the Caribbean Sea to the frozen ocean of the north, including our Great Lakes and largest rivers. Incidental to its work are the operation and repair of a large fleet, including the designing of all its own vessels and manufacturing of varied kinds on a considerable scale, together with much engineering and construction work. Among its problems are those of scientific inquiry in several fields, the management of about six thousand employees scattered over a vast area, and the furnishing of isolated stations with every kind of service and domestic supplies under circumstances of peculiar difficulty and

sometimes of danger. To administer it is, indeed, a "task of great complexity." Few corporations make higher demands upon management and personnel, whether in ability, knowledge, character, or courage.

Since this Service was organized in its present form in 1910 it has had but one chief, and to this able and devoted engineer and administrator, Mr. George R. Putnam, and to his fine staff, the country owes a debt of gratitude for a brilliant achievement. For several years after they took charge, this great organization ran at absolutely less cost than before, while doing vastly more work. It is managed intelligently and economically and will endure comparison with the best corporate enterprises. Nor would Mr. Putnam claim that it is alone in this respect.

The records show that more than half of the private or corporate concerns fail. Were half the government departments to be inefficient, the comparison with private operation would not be very adverse. On the other hand, if one compares the best in private affairs with the best in government, the surprising fact emerges that the former call constantly on the latter for aid and counsel.

One day I told a caller that the greatest business organizations came to the Department for help. He was politely incredulous, so I took him on a Monday morning to the Bureau of Standards to let him look over the mail that he might see for himself. He did

not take time to see it all, but in what he did see were requests from six great railway systems and more than forty important industries for advice and information. He also saw that large corporations were keeping men in our laboratories at their own expense, and that our staff was constantly called all over the country into factories to give helpful information. The men in a commercial service, the Cost of Production Division, were often asked to show manufacturers how to keep cost accounts and more than once were invited to start accounting systems. In another commercial field we purposed to change a man's work, only to meet with a protest from the national organization of one of our greatest industries because, said they, the man was too useful to them where he was.

The men appointed by the Department to seek commercial information are often nominated by the great trade organizations, and in examining them before employment a committee of the nominating body takes part. It was a privilege on one occasion to bring four or five of our commercial men who happened to be in Washington to speak of their work at a gathering in New York at which some of our business leaders were present. What was said of them by their hearers would not accord with the usual comments about government employees. I greatly fear that government servants as ignorant of their work as some editors are of "pork" would lose their jobs.

An efficiency engineer will testify that only a small number of our manufacturers know accurately what their goods cost. I kept cost accounts for many years, but do not recall any records of the kind that are better than those of the Lighthouse Service. The officer who had charge of our department's accounts, Mr. George Johannes, was taken, because of his ability, into the service of an old manufacturing house in Philadelphia. I remember one day hearing the vice-president of one of our largest industries say that in return for what the Department had done for him his corporation was ready to do anything within its power to express its appreciation. But this was a commonplace, and its like occurred often. The best compliment paid to our work was the comment of a business man who spoke of the Department as "the Department of Help." As this is written, inquiries for information are coming to the numerous offices of the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce at the rate of several thousand daily.

Government work is hampered by red tape, by uncertain tenure of management, by managers sometimes more political than practical, by absurd laws and equally absurd demands and interruptions, by political traditions and customs, often by insufficient equipment and funds, and always by insufficient salaries. Most of these difficulties arise from the active ignorance of Congress concerning the work, or concerning any executive work, for that matter. Yet banks and industries

constantly come to government departments to take away their employees to an extent that adds seriously at times to the problem of management. Is this because from humanitarian reasons they wish to separate a few choice sheep from the evil influence of many goats, or is it because they really find ability there?[1]

Here in New York are many members of my former department staff in industries, in banks, in large private organizations, several of them executive officers, and the former members of our scientific staff are scattered all over the land in responsible service among our largest industries. This is altogether inexplicable on the theory of general incompetence. It is certainly true that if corporate business were limited by government salaries and statutes, the quality of its work would decline. Under conditions which the departments do not create, but to which they must submit, the work done in them often ranks in many respects with private business and corporate standards, and is sometimes superior to them. Instances have already been given in earlier chapters of productive work of a money value which private enterprise would find it hard to equal.

Sneers about government workers are but one more manifestation of an ignorance which knowledge would replace with a just criticism of what is faulty and generous appreciation of what is good.

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[1] In two years, 1917–19, the Bureau of Standards lost nearly or quite 50 per cent. of its technical staff. For a statement of actual changes, with comparative salaries in public and private service, *cf.* Report of Secretary of Commerce, 1919, pp. 49–50.

The press is well provided with editors or critics for music, art, literature, and the drama. The men who cover these fields are able and experienced, selected for their special knowledge of their subject. They bring to their work broad information, keen interest, and sympathetic understanding, and some of them have wide constructive influence because this is so. Is the work of our government on its non-political side less worthy of wise interpretation? It touches daily the life of every person in the land, often in manifold unknown helpful ways.

How far may the spirit of antagonism to the Government be due to ignorance of the wonderful beneficence that our government brings to bear on every life? To many the Government spells a combination of political squabble, wordy foolishness, stern taxation, some restraining forces, but of its manifold helpfulness how little is told! Some newspapers, indeed, are finely appreciative and informing at times; an occasional outstanding achievement is well reported; but on the whole there is no intelligent comprehension or comment respecting great services—truly so called—which affect millions of people.

Why not a government editor?

He should have nothing to do with politics—that phase concerns perhaps 10 per cent. of our government activities, and it receives sufficient, if not superfluous, attention. He should start where Congress and the

White House leave off and where actual work begins. He should study and understand the Government as it lives in numerous complex activities, and would have his hands full to keep his associates and special writers from absurd errors.

Such an editor could interpret the Government as now is not done, and if he were vigilant and wise his work would cause scales to fall from the eyes of all who read. To-day there are few such interpreters and the news and editorial columns of the press contain mistakes which are sometimes amusing and often misleading, and too frequently they publish flippant statements of unrealities.

A naval disaster occurs on the Pacific Coast and the comments of our press upon it reflect the confusion that prevails in editorial offices about government workings. If one may judge from the papers of three great cities, no one connected with them knew where to look for light. The service whose duty it was to know and tell the facts about coastal currents was not mentioned and was apparently unknown.[1]

Government departments are better than Congress believes them to be and more efficient than editors or the public think they are. Together with the separate services, they constitute the whole Government in its active relation to the people at large, and there are few in press or on platform to speak intelligently of them in

[1] *Cf.* Footnote, page 257.

praise or blame. Yet hidden in them, as an old correspondent said, are wonderful stories of achievement. Mr. Vanderlip was right in telling the students of the Columbia School of Journalism that Washington is "the most poorly covered city in the world." The movements in the game of politics are exploited at the expense of the realities of government.

The Government has grown so vast as to be quite beyond the ken of Congress. Few of our citizens can now have any clear comprehension of it, though keenly interested to learn of its work. It is the more strange that our press should not yet have grasped the fact that it is worth interpreting accurately to its own citizens. In more than one sense it is true, as a financial journal recently said, that "there is in this country . . . a stable and even flourishing market for mare's-nests." This would largely cease to be and our whole political and social outlook would be clarified if we brought to the critical discussion of government such expert knowledge as is now given to the criticism of art, music, and literature. It is well worth doing, but we have not yet found it out.

CHAPTER XIII

OUR UNKNOWN GOVERNMENT

CAPTAIN A. LINCOLN DRYDEN was no office-seeker, though he held simultaneously four posts acquired one after another because of very stern necessity. On December 9, 1913, I wrote to the Speaker of the House of Representatives a letter about the work of the Bureau of Navigation in the Department of Commerce. This is part of it:

Another field of usefulness is the supervision of the oyster fleet on Chesapeake Bay, where there are not less than 1,200 boats with crews aggregating 3,500 men. There are probably as many more in Delaware Bay and River and the sounds of North Carolina.

Illegal shipments, cruel treatment, insufficient food, and inadequate quarters seem to be a feature of almost every oyster-dredging season down the bay for a generation.

To secure crews to serve under the conditions in the fleet for the small wages offered, shipping agents at Baltimore and Norfolk resorted to shanghaiing. Men while intoxicated were signed on without knowing the nature of their agreements; railroad yards were watched and men and boys stealing rides on the cars in violation of a local statute were given the choice between arrest and serving in the oyster fleet; skilled mechanics and artisans and even members of the professions while intoxi-

cated were shipped by these agents and finally found themselves down the bay on the oyster dredges. In strange and unfriendly environments they were forced to do work for which they were fitted neither in body nor mind.

The mental condition of these men when they came out of their stupor and realized their surroundings, and the disappointment of the master who had paid the shipping agent for a crew found unable or unwilling to make the operation of the vessel profitable, often resulted in violence and sometimes in bloodshed.

These were the conditions found by this department in the oyster fleet.

To cope with these conditions and with breaches of the navigation laws in general, first one, then two, three, and finally six small motor vessels were obtained and Captain (by courtesy) Dryden was put in command. He was Senior Navigation Officer under the Department of Commerce, and also a deputy collector of customs of the Port of Baltimore, which gave him certain rights in boarding vessels, and the requirements of his work soon made him a deputy United States marshal both in Virginia and in Maryland in order that his functions might be useful on either side of Chesapeake Bay. So he actively represented the Departments of Commerce, of Justice, and the Treasury.

A young Virginian who was on his way home for a vacation had stopped over at Baltimore to see the city. He wandered down to the water front, where he was promptly invited by someone to take a drink, which he

did. When he recovered consciousness, he found himself on board one of the oyster boats out in the bay. These boats do not often touch port. They gather the oysters and transfer them to small boats, which take them to market. Consequently, men were hard to obtain for work on these larger boats, and were in many cases secured by the means described. Escape was impossible except by swimming ashore. Our Virginian boy took this desperate chance, but he was weak from hunger and abuse, and the long swim in bitterly cold weather was too much for his endurance. He was drowned.

This started an investigation of the oyster fleet and it was found that, not only were men shanghaied, but that when on board they sometimes were forced to sleep on mattresses lying in bilge water. Their quarters were without heat; they were ill fed. In many instances they were put on shore at the end of the season in remote places without a dollar of wages for the whole season's work. "Get to h——l out of here!" was their sole reward. This was in the United States of America, and not far from the national capital.

No action could be taken against the boat-owners, because the marshal's office could not serve notice unless the cost was guaranteed and the complainants were unable to pay the expense. To meet this situation Captain Dryden was appointed deputy marshal, and could and did serve in these cases without cost to the

persons injured. What a joy it was to Captain Dryden, to his associates, and to us in Washington, to fight the battles of oppressed men who had no one else to act for them—to bring the strong arm of power to bear on the miscreants who shamed their kind by cruelty!

The scoundrels learned their lesson well. I am told that since 1919 not one case of shanghaiing or of cruelty has been found and but two cases of failure to pay wages. What was in reality a living hell has been cleaned up. And now, if you chance to see a motor vessel resembling a private yacht, but flying the national flag, and with a long something forward under a canvas cover, remember that the little fleet of which she is a part has rescued from hideous wrongs hundreds of your fellows, and be thankful that it is so.

But few know of such a work continued over years by constant toil till an evil was exterminated. You did not, I am sure, unless by accident you heard of it through some personal source. The Department has but small means of publicity outside of annual reports, which few read and wherein the human factor is minimized. If Captain Dryden and his men went wrong and themselves shanghaied helpless victims, that would be news indeed, but to work relief and rescue and to destroy evils—there is not much "news value" in that. " 'Tis true, 'tis pity, and pity 'tis, 'tis true."

"In some districts," says my report for 1915, "men

are required to work from five o'clock in the morning until ten or eleven o'clock at night."

"What's this?" you say. "Do any government men work like that?" Let us hope not now, but they did. They were steamboat inspectors, and, as there were not enough of them, this was the result at certain seasons, for example, in Buffalo, as well as in other cities. But that was comparatively easy. Some things required by law were absurdly beyond all possibility. May we read together a bit more of the same report? It was serious enough, to be sure, ridiculous as it will sound; but something was said in a former chapter about absurd laws, so here is an example:

I protest against the absurdity of one supervising inspector on the Pacific Coast being charged with the supervision of the coasts of California, Oregon, Washington, Alaska, and Hawaii, including the navigation on the Sacramento, Columbia, and Snake rivers. No man is competent for such a task, yet a request that this vast district be divided into two and another district be created with its headquarters at Seattle was refused. The law requires (Sec. 4406 R.S.) that "each supervising inspector shall watch over *all parts*[1] of the territory assigned to him, shall visit, confer with, and examine into the doings of the local boards of inspectors within his district, and shall instruct them in the proper performance of their duties."

It is obviously impossible for the supervising inspector of the first district to carry out this law for two reasons: first, because no human being could do it in a district reaching from Nome to San Diego and from Idaho to Hawaii; and, second,

[1]The italics are mine.

because if such a fabulous person could be found, funds are not provided sufficient to cover the necessary travelling expenses.

This was pretty bad, but there was another district almost like it, reaching from New Mexico to Porto Rico. The former at least has been remedied, but you who read and I who write know perfectly well that the public press would be quick to denounce the alleged carelessness of a supervising inspector should an accident happen, ignorantly disregarding the controlling fact that an impossible task had been set him under an impossible law. It is natural to wonder why the alert press of the Pacific Coast did not expose such conditions in its forceful way so as to stop them almost as soon as they came into being.

While we are out there on the Western coast, shall we look a moment at one or two of the vessels I found in use as alleged seagoing surveying ships? They have gone, thank God, to the limbo where bad ships go! If there could be a maritime Gehenna, they were fit for it. We cannot wish them well, for they did too much ill. Men are alive who recall them with deserved curses, for when I took charge they were part of the regular fleet for Uncle Sam's surveying work in Pacific waters. There were several of them—competitors for the distinction of being the most disgraceful to the country. On one of these national vessels in Alaska waters a "stateroom" for three was 5½ by 7 feet.

"There is no bath or shower for the crew, the petty officers, or the firemen. There is no place to carry fresh meats or vegetables for the crew. When the crew have fresh meat, it is hung over the windlass until it is used up," says an official report. One ship was too frail to hoist her launch, so she always selected, if she could, an anchorage at night where the launch was safe afloat, because "the ship is not strong enough to hoist it on board." We pass the minor fact that she was, as several others, unsafe at sea. On the whole, the most vivid detail is that of the fresh meat hanging out on the windlass for lack of a cold place in which to store it. Uncle Sam, you see, could not, or at least did not, afford a refrigerator. Do you suppose the generous people of the United States would have kept such craft in their service years and decades (from thirty-eight to fifty-two years) if they had known the facts? Of course not. But please ponder this question: How were they to find out? Whose business was it to tell them? How much of a similar character may still exist, hidden away in the intricate mazes of our government, unknown to you and to me?

Then there was that charming arrangement about the salmon agents of the Bureau of Fisheries, who were charged by law to inspect the canneries on the coast of Alaska. There were four inspectors, and there were many thousand miles of coast line and numerous canneries scattered along them. That was something of a

task at best; but to make the joke (on us, my fellow citizens) complete, they had no boats or visible means of transit. Passenger steamers did not run to the canneries. How one wished at times that dear Mark Twain could have shot his winged arrows at some of our public conditions! He would have had us all laughing at or ashamed of our civic shortcomings.

Our salmon agents had to inspect, and there was just one way to get to the spot to do inspecting—that was by using the steamers belonging to the canneries themselves. So behold the ridiculous necessity to which your mighty government was reduced—its officers had to take the cannery boat in order to inspect the cannery! One day the inspector noticed that the vessel blew five whistles before rounding a point near a cannery, and, as five whistles were unknown to the maritime code, the inspector was curious to know what it meant. It took some questioning; there was obvious reluctance to tell; but at last the truth came out. It was a signal to the cannery that they were coming with a government inspector on board. Everything at that cannery was accordingly found in fine order. You would not expect good results from that sort of advertised inspection, would you? But you did not know. How could you learn? Where could the average citizen get the facts? Where would you go to-day to find out things as they are in the actual workings of the Government?

This leads to a confession on my own part. Before entering Congress I knew nothing about these or similar things, nor do I know any one who understood them. In Congress itself I did not learn them, nor were matters of the kind of common knowledge there. About the last thing that was talked about in Congress was the real working facts of government activities. Few had accurate information about them—some talked as if they had, using words without knowledge.

I understood the Government of the District of Columbia fairly well, for it was my duty to do so as a member of the District Committee of the House. I made a study of its purchasing methods in detail, and that involved poking into many corners. So I knew a little, only a little, about the Post Office Department, having been a postal clerk in boyhood and being on the Committee on Expenditures of the Post Office Department. For the rest, my ignorance of government workings was comprehensive—all but complete—but I did not differ from my fellows in that respect.

But I believed then in Congress, and later as Secretary and now as a private citizen, still believe in a course with which Congress has no sympathy at all. This is that the great government services in all their parts belong to the people, and therefore the owners have a right to know about them. In order, however, that the owners of such vast affairs which affect them so intimately may know about them, the means of knowledge

must be adequate and continuous—continuous because the facts of to-day differ from those of yesterday and will be changed to-morrow. In other words, the Government is a living organism which grows, not a dead static thing which, once learned, "stays put," so to speak.

All this means organized publicity as a matter of right—yes, of duty to the people that they may understand their own affairs. There is not now any sufficient means of learning the facts. Various services have published good illustrated monographs describing their work and the Institute for Government Research publishes scholarly accounts of the history and activities of several branches of the public service, but even these do not place current working problems adequately before a reader. This is not said in adverse criticism of press or writers, for much government information is not news in an exact sense, and, if it were, there is so much of it as to overwhelm all but the greatest press resources.

The problem is not one easy to solve—government of the people, and by and for them, concerning which the people whose government it is and who pay the bills have no adequate means of current knowledge.

Yet if you want to heat Congress to the boiling point, speak of organized publicity to them. They will think one is trying to advertise one's self, and as for them-

selves—let us put it mildly—they are really obsessed with the notion that they know a great deal now.

There is room, nevertheless, for a service, wholly detached from politics, which shall inform the public on their own affairs, and there will be times when Congress might find it helpful. Why have a great library covering all things besides, while the truth about our own affairs lies concealed?

One day Congress got on a real rampage after information. A member had learned that a certain public servant was earning something additional from private sources and was guilty of other alleged misdemeanours. Another employee had made the grievous error of owning some good securities. Others were said to have too many relatives in the public service. All this, though it was nothing that a head of a department could not correct, in so far as it was true and needed correction, was made the subject of debate to the extent of sixteen pages of the *Congressional Record,* which involved four roll-calls of the entire House of Representatives. It appeared in the debate that the militant reformer had secured employment for his two sons in the service of the House, but this did not abate his zeal in the least. So, although an appropriation bill was pending, no less than ten resolutions were discussed and passed, all of similar tenor and addressed to various departments. One came to me:

H. Res. 76.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, U. S.

June 5, 1919.

Resolved: That the Secretary of Commerce be, and he is hereby, requested to promptly report to the House of Representatives at the earliest date practicable the following facts:

(1) The names of all Government employees in the various branches of the Commerce Department who are employed by any person, firm, or corporation, the name of such employer, the hours of service given to such employer, and the amount of compensation received by such employee per month for such outside service.

(2) The names of all employees in the Department of Commerce whose spouse (wife or husband), father, mother, sister or sisters, or brother or brothers, are in the employ of the Government, their names, department of service, hours of service, and amount of compensation per month respectively received by each and all of said relatives.

Apart from the wasteful folly of the whole silly business, there was much in the resolution to make one pause. While I was thinking it over, a letter came from one Representative among the many who had retained the continuity of their reasoning processes. The nature of his inquiry appears from my reply:

June 7, 1919.

MY DEAR MR. BUCHANAN:

May I say in response to your favour of the 6th instant that the questions you kindly ask are such as to have already occasioned serious concern since the official copy of House Resolution 76 arrived.

If, as we suppose, we must consult our entire field force, which covers the world from the Philippine Islands to Porto Rico, including Alaska, and includes several hundred persons residing and travelling on commercial business in many parts of the globe, the question whether we have a sufficient force to attend to this matter without seriously neglecting other work is very real and practical.

We are now considering the number of employees that may be required for the work and the approximate cost and time which will be involved. So soon as this has been ascertained with approximate accuracy, we shall be more than glad to advise you.

The suggestion has been made to us that the field services of the department are not involved, but the Resolution distinctly reads "all government employees in the various branches of the Commerce Department" and we can only interpret this as meaning what it says. The Resolution further says "promptly report," qualified by the words "at the earliest date practicable."

The vessels of this department are scattered by their duty in various parts of the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. Such, for example, as are on surveying duty in the Philippines cannot be reached promptly, nor can isolated lighthouse or light-vessel stations be gotten at, save through the usual visit of the tenders which supply them. It may, therefore, be several months before it will be possible for us to carry out the Resolution.

May I confess, for your personal eye, that I do not understand why inquiry into the difficulties involved in a matter of this kind was not made in advance of action?

Yours very truly,
WILLIAM C. REDFIELD,
Secretary of Commerce.

HON. J. P. BUCHANAN,
U. S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
WASHINGTON, D. C.

I discussed the matter with disgusted colleagues. In the end we found that more men and money would be required if we were to carry out the will of the House. An estimate calling for both was promptly transmitted; neither was supplied, and the matter ended there, with just one more example of the ignorance of Congress and of its hasty, wasteful ways.

It may throw a further light on the dignity of our National Legislature to quote the following resolution:

> Resolved: That the Committee on Foreign Affairs be directed to investigate at once and report forthwith: First, whether the Constitution has been broken and destroyed, and, second, whether same is broken beyond repair, and, third, to recommend whether we should adopt a new Constitution or repair the old one, and, fourth, as to how the American people could best live on their by-laws while the new Constitution is being adopted or the old one repaired.

This was offered February 14, 1920, and printed at public expense. There is more of it, hardly worth our notice, but those who are interested in congressional jokes at their cost may send for House Res. 463, 66th Congress, Second Session.

Over in the Coast Survey Building, not far from the Capitol, is the most wonderful machine of its kind in the world. It is the tide-predicting machine. By it the hours (to a minute) and the heights (to a tenth of a foot) of high and low tides are accurately calculated

years in advance for the eighty-one principal seaports of the earth, and, by tables based on these, for three thousand other ports. Already it has predicted the tides round the earth for 1925, and will soon begin that work for 1926.

By the turn of a crank it does the work of at least sixty human computers, and does it with more precision. It does not matter how far in the future it has to work, and it is quite capable, were necessity to arise, of working in the remote past. Every ship must have a book of tide tables to guide it when entering ports. The predictions are made two years in advance, are printed a year in advance and distributed throughout the world for the use of mariners. This machine does the forecasting, with this peculiar element about it—that its forecasts are one hundred per cent. correct.

The theoretical problems on which this wonderful mechanism is based were worked out by two scientists in the Service, Doctor Harris and Mr. Schidy, but the machine itself was designed and constructed by Mr. E. G. Fischer, a mechanical engineer and formerly chief of the Instrument Section of the Coast and Geodetic Survey. It was built there under his eye and in no small part by his hands. For fifteen years he worked upon it amid difficulties and discouragements, with insufficient help and surrounded by doubts. With faith in himself and in the correctness of his computations, he persisted until the great mechanism was perfected.

There are other machines for similar work—Great Britain has one—but by common consent of experts ours is the best.

Mr. Fischer has never had an adequate reward for a most distinguished service. By earnest effort on the part of his superiors, his salary was increased by trifling amounts until it reached the magnificent sum of $3,000 per annum. He retired at seventy years of age in August, 1922, and is now drawing a pension of $60 a month. Some university would do itself honour by giving him a degree appropriate to his exceptional attainments and service, for not only the Government of this country, but mariners throughout the world, have long profited, and will continue to do so, through the fruits of this man's genius.

It is the memory of men like Mr. Fischer (and there are hundreds more), who serve long for trivial pay and contribute greatly to the Nation's weal without appreciation or thanks, that stirs my wrath when flippant writers or talkers sneer at government workers. There are men serving in Washington without any adequate public understanding of their value who are the world's leading experts in their lines, to whom the wise defer and whose work underlies as an unseen foundation much for which lesser men get praise. The tide-predicting machine is great, but not so great as the mind of the modest gentleman who was its creator. There are men in the same service—Faris, Bowie, and many

others, my friend Lieutenant-Commander G. T. Rude, once of the *Isis,* among them—whom it is a fine privilege to know and with whom it was a joy to be associated. The Director, Colonel E. Lester Jones, lifted his Bureau out of the very jaws of disaster and made it —the oldest scientific service in the country—one of the best, as it is the largest of similar services in the world.

Dr. Hugh M. Smith, former Commissioner of Fisheries, is widely known and honoured throughout scientific circles in Europe and America—a devoted and able public servant, in very truth a gentleman and a scholar. I rejoice to call him friend. There were Chamberlain and Tyrer of Navigation, and Conway and Gillette of Lighthouses, and Moore of Fisheries, and Libbey in my own office. Would I could name all of the men it is a delight to honour. May this be at least a partial tribute to you all for loyalty and unselfishness and for fine fruitful work. You were there before me, most of you, my friends, and you remain at your posts of duty serving your country ably, deserving more of her than she has as yet seen fit to render you. And you, friends out in the field, scattered throughout the land and the world, respected for sound cause in the districts you so ably serve; and you, the captains at sea and the keepers in the lonely places; and you men who have travelled far in commercial enterprise, your old chief remembers you with honour for your loyalty and self-forgetfulness.

Nor can I close these chapters that so inadequately sketch a portion of the work during my service without a reference to my beloved associate, Hon. Edwin F. Sweet, Assistant Secretary of Commerce. Never had man truer friend than he. Able, loyal, devoted, sincere, a delightful companion, a wise counsellor, a fine executive, may these words speak to him a little of what is due.

Thurman has made the great adventure and has passed over to the other side. My gratitude to him for wise and sound guidance, and to Quigley, his associate. One must not become garrulous over one's friends, but you, to whom some of these names are strange, may discern a little of the spirit of the department and understand better why I resent so strongly the superficial snarling that condemns so sharply at times those who deserve only praise. Human and fallible all these men, and learning by their mistakes and ready to acknowledge error, expecting little from the public they ably served and often receiving less. I should be false to them and to myself if I kept silent when appreciation may be spoken. Truly in them and in many like them, men and women all through the government services, lies the unknown Government.

Those were a fine lot of young men who used to come to my office gathering news for the press. I hope they liked me as well as I did them. They had pretty much the free run of the Commerce Building, and used it.

Often one of them would come in with some kind of a "scoop" and ask to be steered straight on it or on some other public matter, and they all faithfully kept the confidence given them. A few days before I left they arranged a luncheon for me at the National Press Club, and we had a delightful time together. They were all members of the Treasury Correspondents' Association, composed of newspaper writers who report concerning what are known in Washington as the downtown departments. Some twenty of these correspondents attended the luncheon in the Flemish Room and others came in later. They represented the Associated Press, the United Press, the International News Service, the Central Press of America, and several metropolitan dailies, besides trade and technical journals.

The cordial good will of these sincere young men, whose keen minds and competitive training made them quick to discern the false from the true, was a real honour and a compliment that has never lost its charm. It was so also in Chicago at the end of the stormy *Eastland* days. There the reporters came at the close of the final day to my hotel to escort me to the train—a rare courtesy and one I shall never forget. It is a pleasure to know that the valued friendships then created continue to this day.

Even the last day of my term of office brought a contact with men whom I am glad to remember as friends. On October 31, 1919, I entertained at luncheon a large

delegation of foreign commercial visitors representing several countries, and my work ended that afternoon. Prominent among the guests was Mr. Eugene Schneider, the great French ironmaster and then the head of the British Iron and Steel Association. He is a man of fine culture, a citizen of whom any country might be proud. In the course of our talk I asked him what he did for recreation, how he escaped from the burdensome cares of a vast industry. He replied that on his estate and near his residence he had built a chapel. His recreation was to go there alone, close the doors, and play the organ.

After more than eight years of continuous service in Congress and in Cabinet, it seemed my duty to return to private life. The following correspondence explains itself:

DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY
WASHINGTON

August 1, 1919.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT:

I write to inform you of a decision not wholly easy to make but at which I have arrived after very careful thought. Long neglected personal affairs which have necessarily been subordinated for over eight years now naturally require care. It seems my clear duty to take up business work again and I trust to be able to do so in such a way as will still permit some general service.

Therefore let me ask that you kindly release me from duty

as Secretary of Commerce as soon as certain matters are worked out—say on October 15th next. Before then I hope to finish my annual report, to prepare the estimates for the coming year, and to complete the organization for the census of 1920 in addition to several other departmental matters. May I suggest that publicity of this be deferred until September. During August I hope to get a brief rest.

I must add my heartful thanks for your unvarying courtesy and kindness to me, and my appreciation of your noble purposes. You will not forbid a word also of personal affection and of sincere regret that I may not longer continue to serve in your official family.

Cordially yours,
(Signed) William C. Redfield.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

August 2, 1919.

My dear Mr. Secretary:

It is with deep and genuine distress that I read your letter of August first. I had no idea that you were contemplating leaving the office in which you have done such distinguished service. I do not feel at liberty, in view of the reasons you give, to attempt to dissuade you, because I have no right to ask you to continue to sacrifice your personal interests, but I must say I shall be at a great loss to find a successor, and that I shall sadly miss your counsels and your efficient, active, and watchful services as the Head of your Department. I have throughout my administration been able to think of the Department without any concern because I had such perfect confidence in you and was so sure that everything would be looked after as it should be.

Of course I will observe your wishes about the method in which the suggestion is to be treated, and I shall hope to have

some direct personal words with you before you make your final decision.

With genuine distress and equally genuine gratitude,

Cordially and faithfully yours,

(Signed) Woodrow Wilson.

Hon. William C. Redfield,
Secretary of Commerce.

Though when measured by other countries the life of our nation has been relatively short, the actual structure of our Government is one of the oldest now existing. We are doing the governing work of the twentieth century with a political apparatus of the eighteenth century. The mechanism is in some parts archaic and it creaks badly in its bearings when put to service of which its creators did not dream. Its success is predicated upon knowledge, upon the intelligent judgment of our people, but it has outgrown our present means of knowledge and it is increasingly difficult to exercise wise judgment concerning it. Yet executive officers cannot make governmental machinery work successfully without the interest, support, and fair-mindedness of citizens.

I do not recall who is the author of the following words, but they speak a truth which we ought to heed:

We shall all do well to realize that our written Constitution, which we are accustomed to worship rather in the manner of a savage with his fetish, is admirable only as creating the great vital organs of government. In our unwritten Constitution

we have created the mechanism by which those organs function in relation to one another and to the nation. It is the solar plexus of the body politic, and its healthful operation can be maintained only by a far deeper knowledge and a far more profoundly constructive effort of intelligence than we have ever given it.

The intimate world in which we now live and the complex problems it presents for decision call for fearless and well-informed leadership. But our government organization does not provide for leadership; rather the reverse. A system of checks and balances, of separate political units will not serve the purpose today. Where shall the necessary leadership be found? Can it be given by any purely debating and legislative body? Must executive functions be modified by purpose or by evolution to provide it? On the answer to these inexorable questions much of our future progress will depend.

APPENDIX

There are several matters that have been more or less the subject of controversy which are either omitted from the foregoing pages or are mentioned only briefly. This is because they form no normal portion of the theme of the book, nor do they directly serve to illustrate it. In order, however, that the facts concerning them may be available to any who are interested, they are mentioned here with references to the documents in which full information can be found. They are: (1) The proceedings subsequent to the *Eastland* disaster; (2) The American-Canadian Fisheries Conference; (3) The Industrial Board of the Department of Commerce.

The "Eastland" Disaster

(*July 24, 1915*)

The report to President Wilson dated August 10, 1915, and the report of the Board of Inquiry will be found in full on pages 196–199 of the Annual Report of the Secretary of Commerce for 1915. Reference also appears on page 14 of the same report and on pages 12 and 214 of the report for 1916. Compare also House Document 814, 64th Congress, 1st Session, a communication to the Speaker of the House of Representatives covering the decision of C. W. Sessions, Federal District Judge, dated February 18, 1916, and letter of December 11, 1916, respecting H.R. 18421, to Hon. Thomas W. Miller, House of Representatives (files of Secretary of Commerce).

The work of the Board of Inquiry in the *Eastland* case, suspended by the courts, was not completed because the courts never acted finally on the indictments in the case, although official requests for action were made to the proper authorities.

The American-Canadian Fisheries Conference

(*January–September, 1918*)

The commissioners constituting the American-Canadian Fisheries Conference were appointed for the purpose of considering the outstanding questions involving the fisheries of the United States and Canada and of reaching a basis for the settlement of those questions if possible. The principal matter in dispute at the time of the calling of the conference was the matter of privileges accorded fishing vessels of each country in the ports of the other; but other subjects of great importance, particularly the rehabilitation and maintenance of the sockeye salmon fishery of the Fraser River system, were also brought to their attention by the respective governments.

The commissioners for the United States were William C. Redfield, Edwin F. Sweet, and Hugh M. Smith, and for the Dominion of Canada, J. D. Hazen, G. J. Desbarats, and William A. Found.

The commissioners met in Washington January 16 to 25, 1918. Thereafter, public hearings were held in the following places: in Boston, Mass., on January 31st and February 1st; Gloucester, Mass., February 2d; St. John, New Brunswick, February 5th and 6th; Seattle, Wash., April 24th and 25th, May 9th and 10th; Prince Rupert, British Columbia, April 30th and May 1st; Ketchikan, Alaska, May 2d; Vancouver, British Columbia, May 7th, and New Westminster, British Columbia, on May 8th. Meetings were also held in Ottawa, May 20–22, 1918.

The unanimous report of the commissioners was signed at

Lake Champlain, New York, September 6, 1918. The minutes of all the sessions were duly transmitted to Congress. (*Cf.* Report of the American-Canadian Fisheries Conference, 1918, Washington. Government Printing Office, 1920. Also Report of the Secretary of Commerce, 1918, p. 7 and 1919, pp. 8 and 9.)

The Industrial Board of the Department of Commerce

(*1919*)

The Industrial Board of the Department of Commerce was organized in the spring of 1919 to assist in expediting the process of commercial readjustment after the war. It was a voluntary body comprising seven members—three representing respectively the Department of Commerce, the Department of Labour, and the Railroad Administration, together with four representatives of industry.

The board undertook to promote confidence and hasten the revival of trade by securing the voluntary consent of industries to such reductions in the prices of their products as did not involve reducing wages or closing the factories of the smaller producers. The assent of the steel industry and of other industries of considerable size was obtained to marked reductions in their prices. The refusal of the Railroad Administration and other departments to coöperate resulted in the resignation of the board, which ceased to exist in May, 1919. (*Cf.* Report of Secretary of Commerce, 1919, pp. 68 and 69. "The Industrial Board," by George N. Peek, 1919, which gives in detail the correspondence relating to the plans and work of the board.)

Achievements of the Liberty Motor

The records made by the use of the Liberty motor are so numerous and varied that they are given here in detail to avoid

encumbering the text. They were furnished by the Air Service of the War Department under date of October 4, 1923, through the courtesy of Major W. H. Frank, Office of the Chief of Air Service:

May 16–31, 1919. Trans-Atlantic flight of Navy NC4 (Lt.-Comdr. A. C. Read) Halifax to Lisbon.

July 24–Nov. 19, 1919. Round the rim of U. S. flight (9,823 miles) of Lt. Col. R. S. Hartz in Martin bomber powered with two Liberties.

Aug. 25–30, 1919. New York to Toronto race (1,040 miles) won by Lieut. B. W. Maynard in a DH4.

Oct. 8–30, 1919. Transcontinental Reliability Contest, New York to San Francisco (5,402 miles) won by Lts. Maynard and Pearson in DH4's.

Feb. 27, 1920. Altitude record of Maj. R. W. Schroeder to 33,000 feet in a Liberty-engined LePère biplane.

July 15–Oct. 20, 1920. Alaskan flight of Capt. St. Clair Streett, New York to Nome and return (approximately 9,000 miles) of four DH4B airplanes powered with Liberty engines.

Mar. 29–Apr. 22, 1921. Marine Corps, Washington to Santo Domingo and return flight of Maj. T. C. Turner, U. S. Marine Corps, in Liberty-engined airplane.

June–July, 1921. Joint bombing tests of Army and Navy of ex-German vessels off Virginia Capes participated in by many Liberty-engined craft.

Sept. 28, 1921. Altitude record of Lieut. J. A. MacReady to 33,000 feet in a Liberty-engined LePère biplane.

Sept. 5, 1922. First transcontinental flight of less than twenty-four hours by Lieut. J. H. Doolittle, Jacksonville, Fla., to San Diego, Calif., in a DH4.

Oct. 6, 1922. Endurance record (unofficial) 35 hrs., 18 min., 30 sec., Lieuts. Kelly and MacReady in a Liberty-engined T–2 at San Diego.

Mar. 3–Apr. 3, 1923. Porto Rican flight, covering 6,000 miles by six DH4B's with Liberty engines, San Antonio to San Juan to Washington.

Mar. 31, 1923. World's Speed Record for 1,000 km. distance, Lieuts. H. R. Harris and R. Lockwood, Dayton, Ohio, 127.34 miles per hour.

Apr. 17, 1923. World's Endurance Record of 36 hrs., 4 min., 31 sec., by Lieuts. Kelly and MacReady in T–2 transport at Wilbur Wright Field, Dayton, Ohio.

Apr. 17, 1923. World Speed Records for 1,500, 2,000, 2,500, 3,000, 3,500, and 4,000 km. distance at Dayton, Ohio, in DH4 and Army T–2 transports.

May 2, 1923. Non-stop Transcontinental flight of Lieuts. Kelly and MacReady in a T–2 transport equipped with a Liberty engine—2,520 miles.

May 26, 1923. Gulf-to-Boarder (11 hrs., 55 min.) flight of Lieut. H. G. Crocker in DH4–B–1–S.

Aug. 21–24, 1923. Night flight between New York and San Francisco, Liberty-engined DH4's (mail) used; shortest elapsed time, 26 hrs., 14 min.

Sept. 4, 5, 6, 1923. **Bombing** exercises, U. S. Army Air Service off Cape Hatteras. Obsolete ships *New Jersey* and *Virginia* sunk by Martin bombers powered with Liberty engines.

THE END

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